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Editor's Notes

In this issue the Journal appears in new colours and each quarter in future our cover will denote a colour appropriate to the season of the year. Several minor changes are also being made in the format within and we very much hope that these will meet with the approval of our readers.

In this Number, Hubert Morsink reviews United Nations thinking on the role of Co-operatives as an instrument for economic and social development. He sees Co-operatives where carefully designed, particularly at grassroots level, as a possible means of combating poverty amongst the poorest sections of the community in the Third World, a means whereby the people themselves can take an active part in their own development.

Wynn Reilly had teaching experience in Tanzania and Mauritius, besides lecturing in the Department of Administrative Studies at Manchester University, before he took on the challenging assignment of Principal at Papua New Guinea's Administrative College in the immediate pre-independence period. He provides an interesting account of the problems he faced, both in seeking to persuade colleagues steeped in old and formerly satisfactory ways to gear their academic approach to the dynamics of pending independence, and of meeting the training requirements of the government which itself faced diverse major problems and was as yet feeling its way and, understandably, unable to set clear policy guidelines.

A second article on the Pacific comes from John Chick, formerly at Zaria in Nigeria, and now at the University of the Pacific's Solomon Island Centre at Honiara. He describes the whys and wherefores for the appointment and continuing use of Assistant Ministers in Fiji – the ethnic considerations involved and the problems that emerged in the conduct of Fijian Government business. Many office-holders and few back-benchers on the government side of a democratic assembly creates particular problems to which John Chick draws attention.

The Institute of Local Government Studies at Birmingham University has for twelve years now provided a variety of training facilities for study fellows from the developing world which are available nowhere else in Europe. This Journal has published articles and book reviews by a number of the Institute's staff and in this issue we are glad to include C. J. Davies' article on the 'Case Method' used on their courses which are based on actual events – appropriately disguised.

Finally, Tony Kirk-Greene provides a major review article in which he discusses the autobiographies of five retired senior British officials of gubernatorial and ambassadorial rank, together with the report of a symposium attended by their modern successors – the permanent secretaries of today's independent African States – 'contemporary African thinking on Africa's public service affairs'.

Technical Assistance to Co-operatives

HUBERT MORSINK*

THE EVOLUTION IN PRIORITIES AS SEEN BY THE UNITED NATIONS

The United Nations is charged by article 55 of its Charter to promote

a higher standards of living, full employment, and conditions of economic and social progress and development;

b solutions of international economic, social, health, and related problems; and international cultural and educational co-operation; and

c universal respect for, and observance of, human rights and fundamental freedoms for all without distinction as to race, sex, language or religion.

Responsibility for discharging these functions is vested in the General Assembly and, under its authority, in the Economic and Social Council. At present the Council is composed of 54 members serving for three years each.

This article intends to review United Nations thinking on the role of co-operatives in economic and social development, by analysing in particular resolutions adopted by the Economic and Social Council; this, on the assumption that the views of the Economic and Social Council will be reflected, sooner or later, in the technical assistance provided to co-operatives in developing countries by a wide variety of external sources.

In its resolutions, the Economic and Social Council makes recommendations first of all to the General Assembly, and thus to all the member states of the UN; secondly, to certain groups of member states, for example to donor countries; and thirdly, to the specialized agencies, including for instance the ILO, the FAO, UNESCO and UNIDO.

The Economic and Social Council also has established special agreements with these specialized agencies on matters related to the co-ordination of international policy, and action. Finally, the Council has established arrangements for consultations with *non*-governmental organizations, such as the International Co-operative Alliance. In all these different ways, the Economic and Social Council has a potential

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impact on virtually the complete range of external sources of technical assistance to co-operatives.

What are these external sources of technical assistance? They include at least four major categories:

1) International governmental organizations:

A major financial source for technical assistance to co-operative development has been the UNDP, the United Nations Development Programme, which channels its financial resources via ILO, FOA, UNESCO and UNIDO into specific co-operative projects all around the world, upon the request of national governments in the countries concerned. From January 1972 through January 1973 for example, the UNDP Governing Council reviewed requests from twenty countries for UNDP assistance for co-operative development, to a total value of nearly six million US dollars.[1]

The ILO has been for many years a pioneer in technical assistance to co-operatives in developing countries. It has many co-operative experts in the field, supporting a large number of specific co-operative projects, and it has published monographs and studies on various aspects of co-operative development.

Similarly, FAO sends experts into the field, supports specific projects and undertakes co-operative studies.

Several important elements of UNESCO's work programme have a bearing on co-operative activity. For example, functional education for co-operative development.

UNIDO has expressed an active interest in the role of co-operatives in the industrialization of developing countries.

The WFP, the World Food Programme, has also played a considerable role in the promotion of the co-operative movement, by assigning to existing systems of co-operatives, responsibility for the distribution or management of World Food Programme commodities, or by establishing new co-operative enterprises for these specific purposes.

2) International non-governmental organizations:

These include the International Co-operative Alliance, with its 160 member organizations in 63 countries, covering more than 320 million individual members; the International Federation of Agricultural Producers, the International Federation of Plantation, Agricultural and Allied Workers, the World Council of Credit Unions, and others.

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[1]United Nations Economic and Social Council, Fifty-fourth session 'Promotion of the Co-operative Movement during the Second United Nations Development Decade', Progress Report of the Secretary-General, E/5246, 21 February 1973, paragraph 18.

3) National governmental organizations providing bilateral aid, including first of all, governmental technical assistance programmes, for example of Canada, Sweden, the United Kingdom and the United States of America.

4) National non-governmental organizations include national co-operative centres such as the Swedish Co-operative Centre, as well as several training centres in advanced countries, set up for the training of staff from co-operatives in developing countries.

Recent joint efforts by these various categories of external sources have proved very promising.

This brief description of sources of external technical assistance for co-operatives in developing countries is certainly incomplete. A more systematic listing could undoubtedly produce the names of some 50 major international and national organizations providing technical assistance to co-operative projects all around the world.

* * *

At several points in the history of the United Nations system, the Economic and Social Council has recognized the importance of co-operatives and has called for international action in support of co-operative development. As far back as 1951, the Economic and Social Council, in its resolution 370 (XIII), recommended that governments promote co-operative organizations. The vital point to analyse here, however, is not so much *that* the Economic and Social Council made such recommendations at various points in its history, but *why* the Council wished to promote co-operatives. Such an analysis could provide valuable indications concerning the priorities for technical assistance to co-operatives, as seen by the United Nations.

When the Economic and Social Council adopted the 1951 resolution, it did so in the context of a debate on land reform. Thus, the Council recommended that governments promote co-operative organizations:

- for the cultivation, marketing and processing of agricultural products, and for the purchase of farm supplies and equipment;
- for the establishment of industries in rural areas;
- for the establishment of workshops for the manufacture, maintenance, repair and servicing of the most essential machinery and for the storage of spare parts.

It is important to note that at that time, the Council considered the role of co-operatives clearly in the context of land reform areas, and focused its attention and expectations exclusively on technical and economic aspects of agricultural and rural development.

Three years later, in 1954, the Economic and Social Council considered, in its resolution 512 CII (XVII), that there was an increasing scope for co-operatives in

'economic development in general'. This was already a significant broadening of the field. The Council also noted that co-operatives have a 'social purpose'. The context of the debate, and of the resolution, was still the question of how co-operatives could contribute to agricultural development and rural progress.

It is only 14 years later, in 1968, that another important resolution on co-operatives is passed within the United Nations. This time by the General Assembly itself. Further resolutions by the Economic and Social Council soon follow in 1969, 1970 and 1972.

However, the world of 1968 was no longer the world of 1954. People all around had witnessed tremendous progress in technology. In 1957, the first man-made satellite, Sputnik One, was launched by Soviet scientists, followed in 1958 by the first United States earth satellite to go into orbit. Governments all over the world had witnessed tremendous changes in the political climate of the world. In 1954, Dien Bien Phu fell to the Vietminh army. In 1955, the first Afro-Asian Conference was held in Bandung. In 1956, Egypt nationalized the Suez Canal. In 1959, Fidel Castro assumed power in Cuba. In 1962, the Algerian war came to an end. In 1967, the historic meeting between President Johnson and Premier Kosygin took place.

During these years government thinking on economic and social issues had also evolved significantly. By 1968 it had become recognized that the first 'Development Decade' of the 1960s had not brought the expected results for the poor of the world and that the focus on increased Gross National Product was too narrow a target for national development. Within the United Nations policy-making bodies, more and stronger voices were heard calling for more 'social' development.

It is, therefore, quite significant that the General Assembly resolution 2459 (XXIII) of 1968 is entitled 'the role of the co-operative movement in economic *and social* development'. The role the General Assembly has in mind for co-operatives is no longer to contribute only to agricultural and rural development, no longer to contribute only to technical and economic aspects, nor even any more to broad economic development as reflected in increased GNP, but to contribute to 'social development' on a par with economic development.

The 1969 resolution of the Economic and Social Council goes one step further and mentions the importance of co-operatives for 'social progress', and in particular their importance for the mobilization of human resources.

By 1970, the United Nations policy-making bodies were fully absorbed in the preparation of the International Development Strategy for the 1970s. This was a comprehensive and integrated programme of national and international action to achieve a series of inter-related economic and social objectives. It is against this background that the Economic and Social Council adopted that year its resolution 1491 (XLVIII), on the role of the co-operative movement in economic and social development. The most striking aspect for our analysis is the further evolution in

thinking as reflected in this resolution, since the importance of the co-operative movement is affirmed in at least three respects:

1 as an important *element* of the *strategy* for the Second United Nations Development Decade.

2 as a *means* of broadening the basis for *popular participation* in the development effort;

3 as a *means* for the *equitable sharing* of the benefits of development.

'Broadening the basis for popular participation' and bringing about 'equitable sharing in the benefits of development' are aims that fitted in completely with the growing concern of United Nations policy-making bodies with the principles of equity, justice and equality between nations, and within nations. Since then, this growing concern has been expressed in further detail in several major United Nations documents, for example: in the first overall review and appraisal by the United Nations Secretary-General of issues and policies in international development strategy, published in 1973;[1] in the Declaration on the establishment of a New International Economic Order, and in the Programme of Action on the establishment of a New International Economic Order, both adopted by the General Assembly on 1 May 1974;[2] and in the Charter of Economic Rights and Duties of States adopted by the General Assembly on 15 January 1975;[3] as an instrument towards the establishment of a new system of international economic relations based on equity. More recently, the 7th Special Session of the General Assembly again addressed itself to these issues.

One of the most glaring proofs of the lack of justice, equity and equality in the world today is the lot of hundreds and millions of persons living in abject poverty. The assumption underlying in particular, the 1970 ECOSOC resolution is that the co-operative movement could prove itself to be an effective instrument in a massive attack on poverty, and an effective means for reducing the proportion of people living in conditions of misery everywhere. In fact, at that time in United Nations circles, the belief gradually developed that possibly the principal function of co-operatives lies in organizing and helping the poor. It seems to me that this belief is shared to some extent by those in the International Co-operative Alliance, responsible for the publication of the first ICA pamphlet on the Co-operative Development Decade 1971–1980. In this booklet it is stated that both co-operatives and trade unions are 'designed' to combat poverty, ignorance, and lack of equal

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[1] United Nations, The International Development Strategy – First over-all review and appraisal of issues and policies, Report of the Secretary-General, United Nations Publication No. E.73.IIA6, New York 1973, 91 pages.

[2] United Nations General Assembly resolutions adopted at the Sixth Special Session: Declaration on the Establishment of a New International Economic Order, 3201 (S-VI); Programme of Action on the Establishment of a New International Economic Order, 3202 (S.VI).

[3] United Nations General Assembly, Charter of Economic Rights and Duties of States, Resolution 3281 (XXIX), 15 January 1975.

opportunity for the working classes; and to make men rather than capital, the basis for distribution of economic power and resources.[1]

In concluding this analysis, it can be said that in recent years the main interest of the United Nations policy-making bodies has focused more and more on *the need to combat poverty*, and to introduce social reforms to this end. Secondly, that the resolutions adopted by the Economic and Social Council have tended more and more to view co-operatives as an instrument to this overall objective.

Five years or more have passed since the 1968 General Assembly resolution, and the 1969 and 1970 ECOSOC resolutions. The United Nations Secretary-General submitted during that period four reports to the Economic and Social Council, all dealing with the role of co-operatives in the world. Each of these reports is based on draft reports prepared jointly by the International Co-operative Alliance, the International Federation of Agricultural Producers, the International Federation of Plantation, Agricultural and Allied Workers, and the World Council of Credit Unions, together with two major outside supporters of the international co-operative movement: the International Labour Organisation and the Food and Agriculture Organization of the United Nations.

The first report of 30 pages, entitled 'The role of the co-operative movement in the achievement of the goals and objectives of the Second United Nations Development Decade'[2] submitted to the Council early in 1970, dealt with the contribution of co-operatives to key areas of development. It also covered some of the problems with the internal structure of co-operatives and the nature of international assistance necessary to promote co-operatives in the developing world.

The second report of 18 pages, submitted in 1972[3] discussed some of the major problems facing co-operatives in developing countries, and the important elements that should be considered in strategies for co-operative development. The report emphasized the importance of international inter-agency co-operation, which should be extended to multilateral, bilateral and voluntary agencies.

The third progress report[4] of 11 pages, submitted to the Economic and Social

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[1]International Co-operative Alliance, The Co-operation Development Decade 1971–1980, Studies and Reports Series, Nr. 6, January 1971.

[2]United Nations Economic and Social Council, Resumed forty-eighth session, The Role of the Co-operative Movement in the Achievement of the Goals and Objectives of the Second United Nations Development Decade, Report of the Secretary-General, E/4807, 27 March 1970.

[3]United Nations Economic and Social Council, Fifty-second session, Promotion of the Co-operative Movement during the Second United Nations Development Decade, Report of the Secretary-General, E/5093, and Corr. 1, 22 February 1972.

[4]United Nations Economic and Social Council, Fifty-fourth session, Promotion of the Co-operative Movement during the Second-United Nations Development Decade, Progress Report of the Secretary-General, E/5246, 21 February 1973.

Council at its session in April 1973 entitled 'Promotion of the co-operative movement during the Second United Nations Development Decade', discussed in a very preliminary manner progress made during the Second United Nations Development Decade.

The fourth report of 21 pages, came before the Council early in 1975, at a time when the development strategy of the United Nations became oriented towards a more direct attack on poverty and, in particular, on underemployment, unemployment and the maldistribution of income. It presented the contribution made by the co-operative movement to the objectives of the Second United Nations Development Decade.[1]

In spite of all this information supplied to the Council there are, in my opinion, signs that the Council is re-assessing its attitude to the co-operative movement. In 1972, the Council still adopted a resolution 're-affirming' the need for a concerted programme of co-operative action at the country level, and inviting governments in developing countries to adopt various measures in support of co-operatives. Yet it is significant that the Council qualified its appeal to donor countries to assist developing countries to promote and expand co-operatives. In fact, the Council appealed for assistance in all domains where co-operatives '*present the most appropriate form*' for helping to achieve the objectives set up for the Second United Nations Development Decade. The clear implication to me is that the Council finds that there are also domains where co-operatives do *not* represent the most appropriate form for helping the world achieve the objectives set for the Second Development Decade, and in particular: to reach the poor.

In 1973, the Economic and Social Council did not adopt a resolution in response to the report by the Secretary-General, but only formulated a 'decision' taking note of the report and transmitting it to the UN Committee of Review and Appraisal. However, the debate in which the Representatives of Denmark, Finland, Hungary, India and the United States took the floor, was quite revealing.

The United States representative asked for a discussion in the 1975 report to the Council of the 'acceptability, feasibility and relevance' of co-operatives to the developing countries. Moreover, the United States representative asked that the next report discuss the contribution of co-operatives 'to the situation of subsistence farming populations'. Furthermore, that the next report should discuss whether co-operatives should be established on a world-wide basis or 'on a selective basis', and: for which activities. This sounds to me rather close to a call for a complete re-assessment of the Council's attitude and expectations as regards the role of co-operatives in the Second Development Decade. In the debate, other representatives asked that the co-operative movement should present more than the idea presented so far of the so-called 'co-operative development groups'.

[1] United Nations Economic and Social Council, Fifty-eighth session, Contribution made by the Co-operative Movement to the Objectives of the Second United Nations Development Decade, Report of the Secretary-General, E/5597, 18 December 1974.

Representatives asked that the 1975 report should come up with 'other suitable mechanisms' as alternatives.

At the ECOSOC session held early in 1975 in New York, none of the 54 governments represented on the Council spoke on the subject. The Council simply adopted a decision 'to take note' of the report of the Secretary-General, presenting the contribution made by the co-operative movement to the objectives of the Second Development Decade.

There is a growing feeling within the United Nations Secretariat that it will be difficult to recapture the unreserved goodwill and complete support of the Economic and Social Council, as expressed in the 1970 resolution, if the co-operative movement is going to do simply *more* of what has been done already for years now. The need is clearly to set *new* priorities within the co-operative movement, to formulate *new* approaches and strategies to reach the poor, and to arouse a *new* political commitment by the co-operative movement itself to help solve the problems of the poor. It is the conviction of the United Nations Secretary-General that this is first of all a challenge to the co-operative movement itself.

Insofar as the United Nations Secretary-General can offer suggestions to others, he feels that time is pressing, and that therefore an effort should be made simultaneously at the level of *thinking*, and of *action* in the field.

In order to promote some new thinking, the Secretary-General suggests the convening of a small expert meeting, as soon as possible, to assess the problems connected with the participation of the poor in the co-operative movement, to review experience gained in particular countries on particular issues, and to recommend appropriate strategies and programmes.

As regards immediate action by co-operatives to improve the conditions of the poor and to enlist their active involvement in their own development, the United Nations Secretary-General suggests that special importance should be given to co-operative projects at the local level, i.e. to projects that should answer the urgent and desperate needs of the poor, in such a way as to enable them to take an active part in their own development.[1]

A first effort to formulate some practical ideas about how to organize such an international drive towards the establishment of co-operative projects at the local level has been made by COPAC in 1974, in response to an offer from the UN Capital Development Fund to help provide necessary funds for implementing local projects which would provide credit to the poor.

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[1]United Nations Economic and Social Council, Fifty-eighth session, Contribution made by the Co-operative Movement to the Objectives of the Second United Nations Development Decade, Report of the Secretary-General, E/5597, 18 December 1974, in particular paragraphs 74, 83 and 88a.

Another effort to formulate some practical ideas in this direction was made by three parallel working groups at the 43rd International Co-operative Seminar organized by the International Co-operative Alliance and held in Dresden, from 7 to 14 September 1975.

Local co-operative projects carefully designed to reach the poor, may prove a possible means of combating poverty and of providing a glimmer of hope to the hundreds and millions of persons living in poverty and suffering in misery at this very hour today.

The Experience of the Administrative College of Papua New Guinea as an Agent of Change

W. A. P. REILLY*

Introduction

This article is about administrative change. It focuses on the problems of attempting to modify a particular organisation, namely the Administrative College of Papua New Guinea, to make it a more effective agent of bureaucratic reform. It attempts to illustrate through an account of a practical experience over the period 1973 to 1975 the type of issues that have been raised by others in a theoretical context.[1]

By mid-1973 the Administrative College of Papua New Guinea (known as 'Adcol'), had played a significant role in preparing the country for internal self-government due in a few months' time. It was then, and will remain, a worthy tribute to the foresight, skill and determination of its founders. A large number of public servants at all levels, and even the Chief Minister and several members of his Cabinet, had received training at the College. During the period from 1963 when founded to 1973, it had weathered a number of storms, including both a downgrading, happily rectified through public outcry and legislative action, and the establishment of the University of Papua New Guinea (UPNG) on the College campus prior to being transferred to its own massive estate next door.

By June 1973 the College had a permitted teaching staff establishment of sixty and an administrative support staff of around eighty, including labourers and other manual workers; a recurrent budget of about A$640,000 pa,[2] excluding the salaries and most other entitlements of expatriate staff which can be estimated at no less than A$400,000, and permanent buildings which included residential accommodation for 320 students, staff housing, classrooms, offices, a large assembly hall, mess, recreation rooms, language laboratory and an excellent library containing over 40,000 volumes. The grounds were spacious, beautifully landscaped and maintained and with room for building expansion, of which some A$1M worth awaited final approval.

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[1]eg. Robert Backhoff. Operationalising Administrative Reform for Improved Governmental Performance. *Administration & Society*, Vol. 6, No. 1, May 1974, pp 73–106.

[2]A$1 = approx £0.58.

Judged by an outside observer the Administrative College immediately before self-government (1 December 1973), had every appearance of being a well-equipped powerful and secure institution. It received support from influential politicians and national public servants alike. It had on the whole a commendable reputation – at least amongst Papua New Guineans. Its position in Government as a Branch of the Department of the Public Service Board (PSB) gave it protection from the University and possible takeover bids from other institutions.

Thus the College had the outward appearance of being an institution ideally placed to help change the Public Service in a young country whose leadership sincerely claimed to be bent on re-orienting policy from that of the Australian Colonial Government to a totally different set of ideals embodied in the Eight Point Improve Plan.[1] Yet on a closer examination the College in 1973 was, in the opinion of some, neither as strong or secure as it appeared. Nor was it then equipped to act as an agent of change on behalf of the new political leadership. The objective of a number of well-placed individuals on the College Council and in the Public Service, as well as the new Principal (the writer), was to strengthen and restyle the College to enable it to play an effective part in preparing a National Public Service for the task of implementing the policies of the post-independent Government of P.N.G. It is too soon to be able to assess the extent to which progress was made towards achieving this objective during the two-year period from July 1973 to independence in September 1975. However, the view of the writer is that the progress made was disappointing. The purpose of this article is to try to analyse why.

The Administrative College was an integral part of the bureaucracy, being a Branch of the Department of the PSB and dependent on the Public Service for virtually all its resources and for the training clientele. Internal problems usually had their roots reaching well beyond the College boundaries. In fact it was very much a 'sub-system' of the system of government and in many ways was affected by society at large. Thus it must not be forgotten that while the focus here, for reasons of space, is almost entirely on the College itself, the external factors were at least as important as the internal in determining Adcol's ability to act as an agent of change.

The Ecological Setting

Brief mention must be made of some of the most salient facts about the country, the government and the political situation in Papua New Guinea if the problems of the College are to be understood in context.

Unfortunately a comprehensive study of the government of P.N.G. has yet to be published, though there are a number of excellent works of a general nature that provide a useful background for the interested reader.[2]

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[1] Vide the appendix to this article.

[2] eg. *Papua New Guinea Report for* 1972–1973, Australian Government Publishing Service, Canberra, 1974, p 226. C. D. Rowley. *The New Guinea Villager*. Cheshire, 1972. Peter Hastings. New Guinea. Cheshire, 1973.

A survey of P.N.G. would indicate four problems. First, that it is and will remain for many years a very difficult and expensive country to administer. Second, that without external assistance in the form of massive loans, grants-in-aid, or inxows of private investment, it will not have the finance to develop its own resources. Third, that the scarcity of indigenous skilled manpower, both technical and managerial, is likely to be the greatest single barrier to development. Fourth, that while P.N.G. may be potentially rich, it is at present a poor country in terms of material wealth and Western style education, health and living standards for the great mass of the population. The economic, social and political choices being made now are bound to have a far-reaching effect on the future of independent Papua New Guinea.

While Australia has reason to be justly proud of much of its administration of P.N.G. there are a number of major defects in the bureaucracy that now seem a particularly unfortunate legacy given the country's present and probable future needs and which are relevant to the subject of this paper. First, decision-making was highly centralised in government offices in Port Moresby if not Canberra. Second, compartmentalism was rampant. Communication and co-operation between different government departments either in the field or at headquarters is a common problem but it was unusually poor in P.N.G. Third, the average level of education of the expatriate colonial officers was considerably lower than that normally experienced in British dependencies. The majority of generalist administrators lacked university education, one reason why administration tended to be unimaginative. Fourth, many of the middle level positions in the service that in East Africa for example would have been occupied by Asians were filled with Australians attracted by the exceedingly generous salaries and conditions. Their mass exodus soon after self-government created problems of almost crisis proportions. Fifth, the Weberian bureaucratic model with its dependence on highly complex rules and procedures which may have some relevance in Australia was totally inappropriate when exported to P.N.G. Sixth, the administration was overstaffed and expensive to run – expensive not only because of the salaries, but also because of an extravagant use of equipment and public utilities which has created a habit that will be hard to reverse. These were the main reasons why the colonial administration that still existed in July 1973 was to a large extent inappropriate to the future needs of the country and it was clearly going to be the major task of the Administrative College to help adapt the Public Service to the new demands of its political masters.

The policies of the Chief Minister, Michael Somare, and his colleagues in the National Coalition Government were far more radical and nationalistic than those that existed before the 1972 elections. The pace of localisation in the public service was rapidly accelerated, particularly during the year 1973/74. While the Eight Point Improvement Plan may have been more of a pious hope than a plan it was a sincere declaration of intent to strive for new policies embodied in the Report of the Constitutional Planning Committee[1] and other documents. However, while the policies

[1]Final Report of the Constitutional Planning Committee 1974 – parts 1 and 2. Government offset printing.

were bold, the steps taken to implement them were not. Much of the leader's time was taken up with urgent problems of separatism,[1] financial crises and a host of other day-to-day matters. It was also gradually discovered that it is so much easier to agree on policy in broad general terms than to work out the details in unison. Thus for the College, as for all other Branches of the Public Service, it was very difficult to obtain any precise guidance on Government policy for the purpose of setting objectives and making plans.

The Administrative College in July 1973

As mentioned in the introduction, the College by July 1973 was a large, well-endowed, prestigious institution. It had already made a very important contribution to the development of P.N.G.[2] without which it is doubtful whether some of the new policies such as the rapid localisation programme would have been feasible. Thus it would be a mistake to forget these past achievements of Adcol as we focus on its defects and the problems of modifying the College to meet more effectively the fresh demands imposed by rapidly changing circumstances.

Of course there were problems. First there was a lack of leadership. The first Principal had been transferred on promotion many months previously and the acting Principal though a highly capable person was, because of the very temporary nature of his appointment, not in a position to make decisions having a long term effect on policy and would have been wrong to have tried. To exacerbate this situation three out of the six Branch Heads were absent on extended periods of study leave, not to mention the absence of a number of other senior staff members.

Second, the administrative support – the Registrar's Branch – was perilously near to total collapse, largely because it had been localised so rapidly that many officers were having to attempt to handle jobs for which they had no training and virtually no relevant experience.

Third, was the problem of staff recruitment. Apart from the existing vacancies that needed to be filled a disturbingly high number of staff had indicated their desire to leave at the end of the year and had, of course, to be replaced. Recruitment was usually a lengthy, tedious and risky procedure.

Fourth, internal organisational problems relating to communication between staff; participation in decision making; the airing of grievances; co-ordination over joint programmes etc seemed to have gradually developed simply because they had not been given sufficient attention for some time.

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[1]The District of Bougainville proclaimed its 'independence' on 1 September 1975 and the Papuan separatists have argued for independent state for Papua. P.N.G. – a special Report. *Times*, 16 September 1975, p 12.

[2]Brian Jinks. Administrative Training in Papua New Guinea. *Australian External Territories*, Vol. 11, No. 4 Oct/Nov 1971, pp 14–21, provides a useful summary of the historical background to the establishment of the College and its development up to 1971.

Fifth, there was a distinct air of apprehension and uncertainty about the future. Staff members, who were on the teaching side almost all expatriates, were deeply concerned about their future careers.

For these and other reasons too numerous to mention the morale of the College staff in July 1973 was regarded by many as being at a low ebb; these were problems that urgently needed attention. Until they were resolved it was difficult to concentrate on change and innovation. Yet change and innovation might assist in repairing the defects in Adcol and re-establishing its confidence in itself. In any case, changes were taking place outside the College and it had to learn to adapt to them despite the need to devote so much attention to its internal affairs. For example, if the pressures of localisation meant that trainees were unlikely to be spared for a full full two-year course of training there was little alternative but to shorten the course.

Finally, there was little indication either from members of the College or the PSB as to what the College should be doing to prepare a National Public Service for the challenges and changes that would follow first self-government and shortly, independence. There were no master plans, no policy guide lines and no national policy for training in which the College was included. This was the setting for the next two years.

A Programme for Action 1973-75

After a cursory survey of the situation, necessarily brief because of the urgent need to make decisions concerning the 1974 training programmes in time to obtain official approval, and for their preparation, there appeared to be a general course of action for the next two years that could be divided for the sake of analysis into the following four stages.

First, to identify the objectives of the College. There were two aspects of this; one was to identify the existing defects both in the organisation and management of the institution and in its activities of which the most important and obvious was of course the training of National Public servants. The other aspect was to identify and select appropriate goals for the College given the rapidly changing political scene and the consequent alterations to the tasks and nature of the Public Service.

The second stage was to gain acceptance of the proposals from the staff of the College, the Public Service Board and other interested and influential people most of whom were in Government.

The third stage was to agree on a broad 'programme' for meeting the objectives as they were identified. Of those concerned with this exercise some would have liked a more rigid and precise plan but even had this been possible, and given the many uncertainties it was not, it would most probably have caused too great a shock for many of the staff to bear. People have to adapt to new ideas and what might be rejected out of hand today can become accepted as a matter of course in the space of a year.

The fourth stage was to implement the plans. To begin with this meant rectifying the defects in the organisation – the maintenance work without which there might have been no vehicle capable of achieving the more exciting, innovative goals. Then came the task of modifying the College. For instance, if Adcol were to train public officers to implement the 'Provincial Government' proposals, a policy of radical devolution of government to the Districts,[1] it not only needed to recruit more teaching staff with a knowledge of decentralisation but also to provide research facilities and an organisation to plan and run a suitable training programme. Finally, the agreed plans had to be translated into action.

These four stages of identifying the goals – gaining acceptances, planning, and implementation, were obviously sequential in respect of any detailed aspect of the overall plan and each stage did tend to dominate College activity at certain times. However, these stages were to some extent inter-dependent. Determining appropriate goals for the College and gaining acceptance for them depended on the nature of the Adcol organisation, the machinery for making decisions, the relationship between the College and the PSB, and so on. Yet the re-shaping of the College, even as a part of the normal organisation maintenance, depended to a considerable extent on knowing what objectives were being set. Ensuring that the College mess did not collapse (this would have been a catastrophe as a residential college marches on its stomach just as much as Napoleon's army) when the Mess Supervisor retired was an essential aspect of maintaining the institution in good trim. Objectives were concerned however in the decision to create an entirely new Administrative Studies Section at the temporary expense of Management Studies and was entirely dependent on the decision that the College should be more involved in middle to senior level training for decentralisation, central government re-organisation, public finance and other new areas of work. Yet that decision was hard to make and even more difficult to have accepted, simply because the staff of Management Studies were there to argue against the proposal while those of the new section had not even been recruited.

What happened in practice? The following account and analysis of some of the events that took place during each of the four stages of institutional change should help in the understanding of the problems encountered during the process of innovation. The first two stages of identification and acceptance can be treated together.

The Identification and Acceptance of Objectives

The initial identification of objectives and rather surprisingly their acceptance during the latter half of 1973, was relatively easy. The objectives were couched in broad terms and at that point of time not sufficiently controversial to cause too much alarm. More significantly, this was the 'honeymoon period' for the new Principal. People wanted action, or at least they thought they did. Of course, there were criticisms and doubts expressed at the time, but the tone was muted and on the whole the process of goal identification and acceptance was straightforward. Much

[1]Final Report of the Constitutional Planning Committee. *op cit*, Chapter 10.

later it was suggested that less of a blitz might have been advisable, but, quite apart from the time constraints already mentioned, it is arguable that the one and only time that a manager has the power and scope to make far-reaching changes is when he is new – and he does not remain 'new' for long.

The objectives included on the 'maintenance' side the recruitment of staff to enable the College to meet anticipated demands; the localisation of the teaching staff, which was likely to be so difficult anyway that it offered no immediate threats; finding ways of restoring the effectiveness of the Registrar's Branch; improving the personnel communications systems within the College; and widening the scope for sharing in the decision-making process. All were so obviously necessary that a degree of compromise on the more debatable issues of how these goals were to be achieved was readily obtained. These were mostly internal matters with discussion confined to members of staff and only a handful of senior officers from the PSB.

The more far-reaching objectives, the ultimate goals, included a fairly drastic revision of the present training programmes to take account of changing conditions and the likely future needs of government; the introduction of new programmes; decisions on the type of methods to be adopted for future training including a switch from institutionally based training to Organisation Development (OD); the level of courses; and the place of research in the College's activities. Most of these were of concern not only to the College Staff and members of the PSB but also to Departmental Training Officers and most importantly to many of the senior national officers in the Public Service, most of whom had attended courses at the College. To obtain the views of this latter group a special five day conference was organised in November 1973, from which emerged many invaluable ideas and considerable support for the general concept of change.[1]

Stages one and two were on the whole encouraging. A range of far-reaching and useful goals was identified. A workable degree of support for them was obtained from staff, the PSB, the members of the College Council, the senior nationals in Government and a number of other interested persons. Most people wanted action and activity was likely to lead to increased benefits for all. Those objectives that some thought might contain threats could probably be dealt with later and in any case experience had tended to show that since it took ages for anything to actually happen there was little need to panic. The real difficulties began during the third stage, the formulation of the plans to meet the objectives. Chronologically this was roughly from March to August 1974.

The Formulation of Programmes

There were two basic problems confronting the formulation of plans for achieving the accepted objectives. The planning machinery was inadequate and then when it actually came effecting change, rather than talking about it in the abstract, it was discovered that change could be uncomfortable.

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[1]Report of the Senior Officers Workshop on the Future Role of the Administrative College, 5–9 November 1973 – Edited by Professor Robert Parker.

Difficulties, many of them common in similar circumstances to other newly independent countries had to be faced by Adcol's planners. First, government policy itself was vague and provided very few guidelines. For example, the Government in late 1973 requested the College to help prepare about twenty senior national officers for work as 'executive officers' in the proposed 'Provincial Governments'. However, as two years later the precise form Provincial Government should take was still to be worked out it was very difficult to plan a suitable training programme. Numerous meetings were held with senior government representatives and eventually, after two postponements, several revisions and the expression of many doubts, the course was run. Whether it was the correct decision or not remains a matter for debate. It would obviously have been much easier had it been possible to defer the Course until later. On the other hand, had Government gone ahead, as seemed likely at the time, and implemented the scheme for devolution, having a few trained people available who understood something about the implications could have made all the difference between success and failure.[1] But, planning under such amorphous conditions is both difficult and uncomfortable and since there is always so little evidence to justify a particular course of action it requires considerable conviction to carry it through.

The second problem was the almost total absence of reliable data. Manpower planning was inadequate as was information about the rate of localisation. Knowledge of the real demand for particular courses of training by qualified applicants was usually unsatisfactory and it was seldom known how many potential trainees would actually be released to attend the College until after the planning had been completed and in some cases the course commenced. Thus, a lot of the planning had to be based on assumptions. But, naturally, opinions varied as to which assumptions should be followed and there tended on certain issues to be a division between those whose assumptions were based on long experience in the College under more stable conditions and those who based their views more on the experience of other countries going through a similar period of transition.

Thirdly, there was little effective machinery for planning, either in the College itself or within the Public Services Board which was responsible for training policy – 'policy' meaning here any major changes in, for example, programme design rather than minor alterations in the syllabus. The lack of a systematic co-ordinated planning approach in the PSB made it difficult to ensure that training was always integrated into a wider scheme of Public Service change and development. For instance, a vague but nevertheless very important proposal for 'grass roots' rural development using community development and extension work techniques and involving a considerable training input virtually remained on the shelf for a year largely because there was no effective and accepted means of forcing, or even stimulating, the necessary planning activity.

Within the College the planning that took place was done mostly on an *ad hoc*

[1] As at November 1975 the proposals for Provincial Government for all districts except Bougainville appear to have been quietly shelved.

basis within each branch and in the weekly branch head's meeting. This defect raised the difficult yet fundamental question of what sort of planning or decision-making machinery was appropriate to a fairly large training institution like Adcol. Operating through the hierarchy and leaving the bulk of planning to the senior members of the staff with a minimal amount of consultation taking place, mostly within the specialist divisions and usually informally, may suit a 'mechanistic' organisation under stable conditions. In an unstable situation where radical changes are contemplated wider participation and more involvement characteristic of 'organic' systems of management seem necessary.[1]

Once the process of formulating plans for implementing new ideas began members began to realise that change could be uncomfortable. It not only meant the likelihood of more and different tasks but the altering of relationships and ways of working to which they had become accustomed. What was worse was that it seemed likely that while some people would gain from new opportunities others would lose and to a small extent this was quite true. It began to appear during the first half of 1974 that rather a high proportion of the College staff would have preferred the maintenance of the *status quo*, despite the promise of greatly increased opportunities, rather than risk the uncertainties of change. The state of uncertainty accentuated the usual less desirable traits of an organisation. Rumours of all sorts abounded and spread and exaggerated existing apprehensions. Conflicts and tensions, easily contained or ignored under routine stable conditions, were inflamed as the atmosphere became more competitive. How would teaching loads be affected? Who would have a chance to open up a new subject of particular personal interest as a part of a new course? Who would benefit from new opportunities for promotion as organisational changes were made to facilitate the training developments? These were the type of questions going through people's minds. Some raised doubts from sincere convictions that a proposed course of action was mistaken for a number of well considered reasons, and these had to be taken into consideration.

Brief mention of two proposed innovations should suffice to indicate the sort of changes being discussed. Both were implemented but many others were not. The first was a three month 'option' called 'rural development and planning' (RD&P) that was offered as a part of the totally restructured second year of the programme for the diploma in administration. The 'RD&P' represented an attempt to shift from the conventional design of the diploma towards a problem-oriented multi-disciplinary approach. It was to be organised and supervised by a new section of the College, though with re-organisation in a state of flux recourse was had to staff from other sections.

The first Course Director was a new staff member recently seconded from the District Administration. His support staff were mainly teachers recruited directly from the Universities. The course was to include practical work in the field. The broad concept of such a course seemed admirable and was accepted with minimal

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[1]Burns & Stalker, *op cit* pp 119–25 in particular.

dissension. In the detailed planning however heated disputes arose over the meaning of 'development', problems over timetabling, strong feelings about the overall direction and so on, with the result that it was a wonder that the course was ever mounted at all. It is hardly surprising if at times everyone including the Principal probably wished that the College had stuck to the old diploma format.

The other innovation took eighteen months to complete, and here it was personal fears fed on rumour and tensions that created the main difficulties rather than professional differences of opinion. It was a proposal to work out with the Establishment Branch of the PSB a scheme for the total re-organisation of the structure and grading of the staff of the College. The objective was primarily to do away with the multiplicity of staff categories each with their different scales of pay and qualification requirements, but also to facilitate the updating of the organisation structure, the increase of the establishment, the simplification of 'duty statements' and several other by-products. The original proposal for this re-organisation came from the College Staff Association. The re-organisation was eagerly anticipated, though few felt optimistic that anything would materialise. It took a very long time to get going, but in the end a scheme was approved that achieved the original objectives, opened up new opportunities, offered real advantages to many and penalised none. Yet the formulation stage was one of anxiety and even the successful outcome was greeted with scant applause. There was a risk that some would be disadvantaged, as the negotiators well knew and as the rest of the College feared. This is a risk that has to be taken by management and poses the uncomfortable question, to what extent can the head of an organisation afford to upset and antagonise a proportion of his staff for the assumed advantage of the organisation as a whole? It is a difficult one to answer yet an essential aspect of innovation.

These two examples show how important it is to establish an effective system of communication in the planning and decision-making process if rumours and misunderstandings are to be reduced, support elicited and valuable ideas utilised. There was no lack of attention devoted to this intractable problem. Staff meetings, seminars and all sorts of informal discussions were initiated and encouraged. Regular weekly meetings of the branch heads were held. An 'Advisory Board' originally consisting mainly of elected staff members was introduced with the intention of widening the base for decision-making and more especially to scrutinise the decisions of those at the top. In addition to the meetings, papers such as the minutes of meetings, information briefs and a weekly news sheet were circulated to all the staff in the hope that all would be better informed and prepared to express their views. These met with different reactions. To several members of staff the concept of participation was new and they expressed their view that they would prefer to be told what to do and be left to get on with the job. Others, who claimed to want to be involved and enthused over the original proposals, were reluctant to expose their views to opposition in open forum. Only after a lot of hard work and experimentation was the machinery for planning and consultation improved. But the lack of a ready made machine did inhibit the rate of change that could be accomplished.

Implementation

The problems and issues associated with the fourth and final stage in the process of change, namely the implementation of new plans, included as one might expect, many of those already examined in this paper. However the implementation stage did highlight aspects of innovation not hitherto disclosed. New training programmes had to remain flexible to allow for a continuous response to feedback, make provision for contingencies and to develop, albeit within a planned framework, as they proceeded. The unexpected actually happened. Anticipated fears materialised and had to be dealt with. Those who objected to the new courses of action had their final opportunity to try to reverse decisions to which they objected.

Under the conditions of rapid political change all sorts of unforeseen problems arose as new programmes were put into practice. These were partly due to the newness of the programmes. There were inevitable teething troubles. Besides the district development course already mentioned, there was the case of a course in 'personnel management' designed largely at the request of the PSB and in particular the large new Branch of the PSB called the Bureau of Management Services (BMS). There was little doubt about the need for some sort of course. Localisation, staff transfers and the introduction of new procedures in the PSB were responsible for the near collapse of the BMS and acute problems in several other branches. Since the staff in these Branches who did not understand the job were so desperately overworked that they could not spare the time to assist or train their own staff, the only hope seemed a training course planned and conducted jointly by the College and experts from the PSB. While not everyone in the College was happy about this, some for good and some for doubtful reasons, it was agreed, after much consultation, that the course should be mounted. Then, just before the course was due to open most of the potential course members were withdrawn and several key instructors became unavailable. Only sheer determination and a conviction that 'the show must go on' salvaged something from the situation. Pressure was exerted and some candidates were reinstated and others were recruited and the Course successfully mounted with a slightly reduced intake.

The reduction in the establishment and therefore status of the Management Studies Branch (later to become a 'Section'), in order to create a new Administrative Studies section provides an example of the problem of estimating the likely damage to morale, job satisfaction and staff support and reconciling it against the possible advantages of a proposed course of action. Only after months of deliberation and the consideration of conflicting advice, was it decided that certain new projects could only be launched by a new Section, the staff of which was to be drawn from a variety of experiences and not solely from those concerned with Management Studies. Naturally, the Management Studies staff held an opposing view especially as in addition to sound professional arguments, promotion prospects were, at least temporarily, curtailed.

Thus, when a number of unpalatable decisions have to be taken if new objectives are to be introduced, it is at the implementation stage that the crunch is really felt.

If the cost of going ahead – cost in staff response is too high, then some innovations may even at this late stage have to be modified or abandoned.

Finally there was a conservative element on the staff determined to resist change. Their presence within an organisation, especially when many occupy senior positions, places a heavy damper on innovation. It is natural that those who have served an institution well for many years and possess a wealth of valuable experience should be suspicious of new ideas and sometimes reluctant to recognise the changes in the world around them. It is during the implementation stage that they can take a last ditch stand. Several instances occurred when even policies that had been initiated by some of the long-standing members of staff years previously and supported fervently right up to the point where implementation was imminent, were suddenly resisted by the very people who proposed them. The repercussions of change, the problems of adaptation, the reality of adjusting to a new situation was, in the final outcome, too unpalatable. If change is seriously desired it may be necessary to sacrifice experience however valuable and to introduce new blood.

Conclusion

Hoyle concludes that 'the time has come for radical change if training is going to take its rightful place in assisting administrators to face the most uncomfortable fact of administrative life' – facing the future in developing countries.[1] The conclusion that emerges from this study of an attempt to initiate radical change is that in practice change can seldom be radical – and for very understandable reasons. Government policy is rarely laid down in so clear-cut a form as to provide the necessary guidelines; time and energy are consumed by day-to-day business and problems of maintenance; and the bureaucracy as a whole cannot readily accommodate change even if it desires it.[2]

Schaffer and others imply that institutional training is inherently incapable of bringing about administrative change.[3] True, the record in developing countries is most disappointing and there are plenty of cases where training institutes have inhibited progress, but this does not prove that institutional training cannot act as an agent of change and development. Have the alternatives a better record? The contention of this writer is that administrative training, including that based at institutes still has a tremendous potential as an innovative force. What is needed is a deep and systematic study of the type of problems touched upon in this article. If we had a better understanding of them through a searching and ruthlessly objective analysis, more progress might be made towards their solution.

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[1] A. R. Hoyle – Some Deficiencies in the Training of Senior Administrators in Developing Countries. *International Review of Administrative Sciences*, Vol XL, 1974, No 4, pp 334.

[2] M. J. Campbell in *Bureaucratic Restraints to Development*, 1975. Mimeo. Suggests that training establishments can be as unaccommodating towards change as bureaucracies.

[3] Bernard Schaffer, Ed. *Administrative Training & Development. A Comparative Study of East Africa, Zambia, Pakistan & India*; Praeger, 1974.

Appendix

The Eight Point Improvement Aims

A rapid increase in the proportion of the economy under the control of Papua New Guinean individuals and groups and in the proportion of personal and property income that goes to Papua New Guineans.

More equal distribution of economic benefits, including movement toward equalisation of incomes among people and toward equalisation of services among different areas of the country.

Decentralisation of economic activity, planning and government spending, with emphasis on agricultural development, village industry, better internal trade, and more spending channelled to local and area bodies.

An emphasis on small scale artisan, service and business activity, relying where possible on typically Papua New Guinean forms of business activity.

A more self-reliant economy, less dependent for its needs on imported goods and services and better able to meet the needs of its people through local production.

An increasing capacity for meeting government spending needs from locally raised revenue.

A rapid increase in the equal and active participation of women in all forms of economic and social activity.

Government control and involvement in those sectors of the economy where control is necessary to achieve the desired kind of development.

This short statement is now generally referred to as the Eight Point Improvement Aims.

Assistant Ministers in Fiji[1]

JOHN D. CHICK*

The Origins of the Office

The term Assistant Minister was first used in Fiji in September 1967, but the office itself dates back to the previous year. At that time it was already clear that unofficial members of the Governor's Executive Council would shortly be given full ministerial status and in anticipation of this broadening of responsibility, and of the need to increase Fijian participation on the executive seven Parliamentary Secretaries were appointed from the ranks of the majority party in the Legislative Council '. . . to assist them in the discharge of their functions'. The posts may not have been introduced for the purposes of ethnic balancing alone, but this has certainly been their most important implication, albeit and inevitably left unsaid.[2] A few months later, when the Executive Council was formally replaced by a Council of Ministers, the title of Parliamentary Secretary was changed to one which seemed to be more in keeping with the ministerial system to which the country was now committed.

Initially, the Opposition was sceptical about the new posts. For one thing, it questioned their legality. Nowhere did the 1966 Constitution make any mention of Parliamentary Secretaries, or of Assistant Ministers, either. On what authority then were the appointments based? More significantly, the critics doubted whether the posts were really necessary. What, it was asked, were the incumbents supposed

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[1]This paper was prepared with the help of those Assistant Ministers who held office during the course of 1974. I am extremely grateful for their comments, and also for a number of useful suggestions from Dr Ahmed Ali of the University of the South Pacific and from Paul Grocott of the University of Papua New Guinea.

[2]*The estimated population of Fiji in* 1972 *was* 545,000 *with Indians @* 51%, *Fijians and other Pacific Islanders and Rotumans @* 47%, *Europeans, part Europeans, Chinese and others making up the balance* (Ed).

to do which would justify salaries of £2,000 per annum plus allowances?[1] Could the Government provide a list of their duties?

The Attorney-General was able to explain the legal position under S.24 of the Constitution, but nobody could throw much light on the question of functions. It was firmly maintained that the workload of Ministers would justify the provision of some kind of assistance, but the way in which such assistance was used would depend upon the individual Minister's assessment of the particular needs of his own department. Attempts to specify duties in detail, it was argued, would merely reduce the value of an institution designed to allow for flexibility in a period of rapid political and administrative change. As circumstances altered, so would the job of the Parliamentary Secretary; indeed, the diversity of his responsibilities would help to prepare him for the day when he might himself be advanced to Cabinet rank. In this sense, his departmental service could also be viewed as a form of apprenticeship.

While the Opposition was not entirely satisfied with this explanation, it did not press home its attack and, despite recurrent misgivings, the office soon became an established part of the machinery of government. Both political parties agreed to its continuation after independence,[2] and the 1970 Constitution, unlike its predecessor, contains a section which explicitly allows for appointments to be made at the Assistant Minister level.[3]

Subsequent Development

Once their new status had lost its novelty, however, Assistant Ministers themselves began to wonder whether the critics had not perhaps been right. 'To assist the Minister . . .' could mean almost anything – and in practice it meant very little. One or two senior politicians made serious efforts to involve their subordinates in departmental affairs, assigning them specific responsibilities, and trying to keep them informed on major issues of policy; the majority, struggling to get to grips with unfamiliar portfolios, had neither the experience nor the inclination to delegate their newly-acquired powers. Civil servants, unused to dealing with political sensibilities, tended to ignore Assistant Ministers, altogether. While the latter did not like to admit the fact, they were little more than privileged bystanders in the anterooms of power. The more conscientious among them found the situation extremely frustrating.

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[1] Remuneration has risen substantially since 1966. In 1970 the salary was F$4,100 plus allowances. A committee on emoluments which reported in 1974 recommended a basic rate of F$6,500 (Parliamentary Paper No. 8 of 1974), but, as an economy measure, Assistant Ministers actually received only F$5,500. However, four cost of living adjustments had brought salaries to F$7,100 by January 1975. Allowances at that time included $1,700 per annum for housing, $1,000 for general expenses, and up to $1,000 for constituency visiting.

[2] *Constitutional Discussions: Report on Lord Shepherd's Visit to Fiji*, January 1970, Legislative Council Paper No 1 of 1970, p 2.

[3] *The Constitution of Fiji*, s 80.

And their frustration was compounded by the doctrine of collective responsibility. Having become, in theory at least, a member of the Government, the Assistant Minister forfeited his right to criticise official policy, and could be called upon to defend measures in the preparation of which he had played no part. In reality, of course, he seldom found himself in serious disagreement with his party's leadership, but occasional differences of opinion were bound to arise. In any case, the assumption of unconditional support was galling, especially since those involved did not always understand the conventions under which they were supposed to operate. Embarrassing incidents occurred in which new appointees unwittingly overstepped the boundaries of permissible dissent. For instance in July 1972, when the Assistant Minister of Finance attacked a motion to guarantee a municipal loan to the Nadi Town Council. Nadi, which happened at that time to be controlled by the Opposition, had been under some criticism for its lavish spending programme, and the Assistant Minister – unaware that his own department had already endorsed the loan application – suggested that the new proposals were too ambitious. The Opposition had a good deal of fun at his expense, and even his senior colleagues seemed to derive a certain amount of amusement from his discomfiture. The incident serves to illustrate the point that virtually no attempt is made to prepare individuals for legislative or executive roles in Fiji. They are left to pick up a working knowledge of their job as best they may, and examples of such confusion are therefore virtually inevitable.

Another such incident arose in November of the same year when the Assistant Minister of Fijian Affairs and Rural Development threatened to vote against a controversial Land Sales Bill, and was asked to resign on the grounds that he had violated the principle of collective responsibility. A few hours later the request was withdrawn, it being accepted that he had not fully understood the implications of the doctrine. This incident may be contrasted with the better known case of Mr Sakiasi Butadroka who, as Assistant Minister of Commerce, Industry and Co-operatives, openly defied the Government in November of the following year, and having failed to resign when requested to do so, was dismissed from office and ousted from the party. His was a positive act of premeditated rebellion, which had been threatening for some time previously, and in which all concerned were well aware of the issue at stake.

In the early days, junior members of the Government did at least retain the right to ask questions in the Legislative Council of departments other than their own.[1] Following the change to a ministerial system, however, the parliamentary caucus of the ruling Alliance party decided that the practice was incompatible with the responsibilities of office.

Some Assistants were unconcerned by the decision, feeling that question time was little more than a ritual in any case; others believed that the ruling placed them at a disadvantage in comparison with backbenchers. How could the AM convince

[1]One Parliamentary Secretary, Peniame Naqasima, was particularly active in this respect; he continues to serve as an Assistant Minister at the time of writing.

constituents that he was assiduous in the protection of their interests if he were not permitted to question the Government on matters of local concern? The obvious response was that, as an Assistant Minister, he had exchanged his right to raise issues in public for the ability to press a case more effectively in private. But would constituents believe this, especially if the final outcome was unsatisfactory? Apart from which, it was by no means clear that behind-the-scenes influence *was* particularly effective. It was even suggested that the backbencher might be better placed in this respect than the Assistant Minister, because of the measure of independence he preserved. It was suspected that the ordinary Member was sometimes allowed to approach the Prime Minister directly on an issue about which he felt strongly, for example, whereas the AM in a similar situation would usually be told to pursue the matter through 'the normal channels'. (It is still possible for Assistant Ministers to raise matters of interest to their constituencies under the 'ten minute rule' during adjournment debates, although Peni Naqasima has been the only one to make a regular practice of doing so.)

In other words, there seemed to be an element of truth in the widespread assumption that the posts amounted to little more than a form of political patronage. Whatever the original intention, they did help to strengthen the Government's control over the Legislature, without contributing in any significant way to the working of the Executive. Nor, while their holders had so limited a part to play in the processes of policy formulation and implementation, could they be taken seriously as training positions.

Despite the vacuum in which they worked, the AMs were naturally unwilling to accept the conclusion that they were totally redundant; instead they tried to increase the political weight of their posts by supplementing the shadow of power with its substance. Arguing that their peripheral role was incompatible with the logic of collective responsibility, was wasteful of administrative resources, and made a mockery of the idea of apprenticeship for ministerial office, they became more insistent in their demands for improved status.

While their dissatisfaction was obvious, however, the remedy was not. Only gradually, as successive attempts at amelioration failed, did the real nature of their disability become apparent.

At first it was generally assumed that the difficulty was simply one of poor job definition. What was needed, as the Opposition had always said, was a checklist of functions against which one could evaluate performance. Acting on this assumption, a 1970 report dealing with parliamentary remuneration finally attempted to spell out duties in some detail. The relevant section read:

> The role of the Assistant Minister is of course to assist his Minister in the discharge of the duties of his portfolio, and for this purpose he is required to carry out such duties and assume such responsibilities as may be allocated from time to time by his Minister, including deputising for the Minister. Generally, he does not participate in the discussions and decisions of the Council of Ministers, but may be called in at any time by the Council to participate in the discussion and be asked for his views. His duties generally include:

(a) assisting during preparation of Bills,
(b) participating in departmental policy formation and departmental functions, and preparing budget estimates,
(c) liaising with representative public bodies,
(d) representing the Government at official functions and meeting official visitors.[1]

Such a challenge made virtually no difference, however, being less a solution than a rather more elegant statement of the problem, which left most of the major issues unresolved. Under what circumstances, and upon what terms, for example, could an AM deputise for his principal? 'Participating in departmental functions' seemed to lack specific meaning, and varying interpretations of the word 'participate' made nonsense of much of the remainder.

Since written definition alone did not improve the situation, other remedies were suggested. The most promising idea seemed to be that of allocating a particular segment of a ministry's responsibilities to each Assistant. Where this had already been done on an informal basis, results were encouraging, and it was hoped that institutionalisation of the practice would strengthen the hand of junior members of the Government. Following the General Election of April, 1972, therefore, Assistant Ministers were appointed to very specific fields of responsibility. The Minister of Communications, Works and Tourism, for example, was allocated to AM s – one to supervise telecommunications and postal services, the other charged with responsibility for roads and marine affairs.

Today the title of Assistant Minister makes reference to his narrower departmental interests. In theory at least, he assumes a well-defined position in the hierarchy of his Ministry, acting as an intermediary between the Minister and officials on *all* matters falling within the area of his 'mini-portfolio'. Channels of communication having been so clearly identified, there would appear to be little further cause for confusion.

While the innovation certainly represented a considerable step forward, however, it did not remove all grounds for complaint. Although there was much less scope for disagreement than in the past, the position of the Assistant Minister continued to depend upon the attitudes of those with whom he worked. Some civil servants persisted in dealing directly with Ministers on all issues of substance, and Ministers did not necessarily discourage the practice.

In part, the short-circuiting of proper procedures was a matter of habit, and reflected the low regard in which Assistant Ministers were still held; in part, though, it arose from differences of opinion over the extent to which they should be permitted to see confidential documents. This was the crux of the matter. Despite the wording of the 1970 report, some of those involved took the view that AM s should never by privy to Cabinet discussions, in which case, of course, it became

[1] *Report on Emoluments of Ministers and Members*, Legislative Council Paper No 9 of 1970, para 71.

virtually impossible to involve them in high level decision-making, no matter what position might be assigned to them in an organisation chart.

The AMs were not equally affected by such continuing disabilities. In a department whose Minister was for a time a member of the Senate, the Assistant Ministers were inevitably thrown into the front line of debate in the House of Representatives, and quickly acquired very real responsibilities. On the other hand, in the single case in which an Assistant Minister was not given specific duties after 1972, he found it extremely difficult to establish a role for himself in the shadow of a Minister whose energies, and personal attention to detail, were already legendary. This was P. K. Bhindi, Assistant Minister of Finance, who subsequently served as chairman of the Assistant Ministers' action group, and was the most vocal critic of Cabinet exclusiveness. His Minister was Charles Stinson, a key figure in the Government. Other experience varied between these two extremes, but most AMs felt that there was still room for improvement.

The appointment of another committee to investigate parliamentary salaries provided them with an opportunity to press their views. Previously, grievances had been aired in an uncoordinated way; now, meeting as a group to consider remuneration, Assistant Ministers discussed the broader issue of their role in Government and, having agreed upon a common course of action, presented their recommendations to the parliamentary party as a whole. Their case was simple. The question of access to confidential material should be settled once and for all. Assistant Ministers swore an oath upon taking office, which was identical in every respect to that sworn by Ministers. They, too, undertook that they would not '. . . directly or indirectly reveal the business or proceedings of the Cabinet or the nature or contents of any documents . . .' seen by them in their official capacity.[1] This being the case, why should they not be given full access to all information necessary for the proper performance of their duties? If the posts were to mean anything, they should be treated seriously. And that implied that Assistant Ministers should not only be allowed to see Cabinet minutes, but should be invited to Cabinet meetings much more frequently than had been the case in the past. Above all, the Prime Minister should prove that he had confidence in their abilities by appointing them to act for Ministers in their absence. Once they were seen to be potential wielders of Ministerial authority themselves, they would automatically assume a more important place in the system. This would set the seal on the earlier reforms and bring the moves towards more genuine involvement to their logical conclusion.

The Institution in Perspective

From the point of view of the Assistant Ministers themselves there can be little doubt that, as a result of such agitation, their role has become a much more satisfactory one than it was in the past. Those questioned in April 1974, reported that the flow of information coming across their desks had increased appreciably during the preceding months; with a single exception, all now felt themselves to be an integral part of the machinery of government.

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[1]The full wording may be found in Schedule I to The Constitution, 'Oaths and Affirmations'.

There were still complaints, though. It was still felt, for example, that Assistant Ministers might have rather easier access to Cabinet; one Assistant had gone to meetings together with his Minister to discuss matters which came within his particular sphere of departmental interest, but the others had only been invited when their Ministers were unable to attend in person. Some suggested that there might be room for greater flexibility in this respect, but such modest recommendations for improvement stand in sharp contrast to the general mood of dissatisfaction which had characterised attitudes a short while before.

The value of a particular office cannot be judged solely in terms of the level of satisfaction which it affords to incumbents, however. As insiders, the Assistant Ministers are in a good position to assess the conditions under which they work, but they are hardly objective observers. Like most people they are inclined to evaluate their activities in favourable terms, and may well overlook the wider implications of their role. What then is the significance of the office for the governmental system as a whole?

This is a difficult question to answer without moving far beyond the scope of the present essay. Assistant Ministers have recently come to play a much more active part in the business of government. Although Fiji's civil service is a relatively small one, it may well require a greater measure of political supervision than that provided by the Cabinet alone. If this is so, there could be a case for drawing a wider circle of politicians into the decision-making process. But this conclusion is by no means proved, and would require the support of empirical research before it could be maintained with any degree of confidence.

It is just as difficult to assess the full impact of the office upon the working of the House of Representatives, although it is obviously true that the appointment of Assistant Ministers has strengthened the Government's hold over the House and limited opportunities for debate.

In January 1975, twenty Members out of a total of fifty two were either Ministers or Assistant Ministers, and a further two held positions (as Government Whip and as Leader of the House) which effectively precluded criticism of Cabinet decisions. Only eleven Alliance MHRs, a third of the party's representation, remained on the back benches to jog the Government from behind. Whether this lowered the quality of the House's deliberations, it is impossible to say without becoming involved in an exhaustive analysis of the complex pattern of relationships which exist between front bench and back bench, Government and Opposition. In the absence of such analysis judgements must again be tentative.

Superficial observation suggests that backbenchers have tended to assume a distinctive role in the legislative process, which may have been of some value in crystallising options. To the extent that this is true, it would lend weight to the case of the critics. Certainly the legislature gains nothing by the neutralisation of so large a proportion of its membership; whether it loses anything remains a matter for speculation.

What of the claim that the institution provides a training ground for potential Ministers? Assessment of the record is complicated by the fact that Fiji has not experienced, in its recent history, a period of 'normal' recruitment to the highest levels of Government. When executive positions were first thrown open to elected representatives there were no Assistant Ministers from amongst whom Ministers could be chosen. Inevitably, the pioneers came directly from the rank and file of the Legislature. Having once established themselves in senior positions, many have remained there ever since, so limiting their Assistants' opportunities for promotion. Nevertheless, of the eleven individuals who have held junior office at various times in the past, and are no longer serving in such posts, eight eventually achieved full ministerial status. Of the remainder, one (Emosi Vuakatagane) failed to obtain party nomination for the 1972 election and lost his seat in the House, one (K. S. Reddy) was not reappointed to office following the election, and one (Sakiasi Butadroka) was dismissed for disciplinary reasons.

While appointment as an Assistant Minister may lead to greater things, however, it is obviously not a guarantee of Cabinet rank. Nor, even now, is it a necessary precondition of office; out of six new Ministers appointed in the months following the 1972 election only two had prior experience as Assistants. Three had not even held seats in the previous Parliament.[1]

The fact that all three were Indian raises an extremely important point. In terms of its social composition, the Cabinet is not representative of the population as a whole, of the electorate, of Alliance voters, of Parliament, or even of the governing party's membership in the House. Some elements of unrepresentativeness, such as relatively high levels of education amongst Ministers, are unlikely to give rise to adverse comment; others, such as imbalances between ethnic groupings, are far more likely to provoke criticism. The tendency has been to use the category of Assistant Ministers to provide a measure of social balance within the Government as a whole, which is lacking within the inner circles of the Cabinet itself. This means that appointments to the posts of Assistant Minister complement, rather than echo, those at ministerial level – one reason why the former are not seen as an entirely adequate source of recruitment to the latter.

Since Cabinet is so small a body, of course, the inclusion or exclusion of one or two individuals can make an appreciable difference to the overall picture; it would be virtually impossible to operate any kind of quota system without imposing unacceptable constraints upon the selection of the governing team. Because people are conscious of social composition as an issue, however, attempts do have to be made to allay suspicion of undue influence by particular groups.

In ethnic terms the most obvious anomaly, as of January 1975, was the large part still played by Europeans in the Cabinet. To some extent, their importance was a function of the portfolios which they held (those of Attorney-General, Finance and

[1]Although one of these, M. T. Khan, had been an Opposition Member of the House from 1966 to 1968.

Agriculture) rather than a matter of numbers, but even so, the European element in the Government clearly needed no reinforcement. Europeans are not recognised as a separate racial category under the present Constitution, being included with Part-Europeans and Chinese under the title of 'General Electors', but in practice they have played a much more significant role in public affairs than have either of the other two groups. It was probably for this reason that a Part-European was made an Assistant Minister following the 1972 election; while his appointment served to maintain the over-weighting of General Electors as a whole, it did break the Europeans' long-standing monopoly of posts available to the minority races.[1]

The Indian presence, while small, was roughly consonant with Alliance support among the Indian population as a whole: prior to the 1972 election, with only three Indian Members in the House (one of whom was seriously ill), it was not easy to maintain this position, but an influx of new members in 1972 helped to ease the situation. One consequence of the earlier problem was that K. S. Reddy, as an Assistant Minister, was given full Cabinet rank in order to reinforce the Indian presence at the highest levels. At that time he was the single exception to the general rule that Assistant Ministers were excluded from the inner circles of government.

Fijians, on the other hand, were significantly under-represented at Cabinet level, and an important effect of junior appointments has been to redress the balance in their favour – as may be seen in the following tables:

Membership of the Government in January 1975, by racial group[2]

	Fijian	*Indian*	*General* (Europeans, Chinese, part-European)
Ministers	7	3	3
Assistant Ministers	5	1	1
	12	4	4

Conclusion

None of the issues raised in this discussion is peculiar to Fiji. Many countries operating within the framework of cabinet government make use of auxiliary ministers of some kind, and all experience similar problems.

[1] In April 1975, after this article was completed, the Assistant Minister concerned (E. J. Beddoes) was promoted to full Cabinet rank following a reallocation of portfolios and the resignation of the Minister of Agriculture (D. W. Brown). He was replaced at the Assistant level by a Fijian.

[2] The term 'Government' here refers to all Ministers and Assistant Ministers as a group. An important member of the Cabinet, the Attorney-General, appears in the tables although he is not an elected Member of Parliament; on the other hand the Government Whip, who might figure in a slightly wider definition of the term, has not been included in the total. She is, in fact, a Fijian.

Fiji's 'assistant minister problem', though, is really a 'parliamentary secretary problem' writ large. Wherever one has quasi-ministers (no matter what they may be called) one has a similar blurring of functions. Because Fiji opted for an extreme variant of quasi-ministerialism in the context of a very small Parliament, it experienced these dilemmas in a particularly acute form.

In that there must be many comparable situations, elsewhere, an appreciation of the effect of 'assistant ministers' on the functioning of cabinet government would surely form a valid basis for greater study.

The Case Method in the Study of Development Administration

C. J. DAVIES*

In 1973, and with the assistance of the Ministry of Overseas Development, members of staff of the Development Administration Group, of the Institute of Local Government Studies at the University of Birmingham, undertook a programme of field work for the collection of case material. The intention was to prepare a set of cases which would be used on courses of study offered by the Group, and which would be made available for use by other Institutes and Colleges. This paper outlines the case programme, and reports on its progress.

A major activity of the Development Administration Group is the provision of a range of courses for graduate and post-experience students whose concern or interest lies with regional or local administration in developing countries. The Group's programme includes short four months' courses for senior administrators, as well as courses which lead to the award of the Diploma in Development Administration, the degree of Master of Social Science, and the degree of PH D.

In addition to the traditional teaching methods used in Universities – lecture, seminar and tutorial, and bibliography or annotated reading list – most of the courses of study offered by the Development Administration Group employ a variety of teaching activities which include, for example, small group discussions, gaming and simulation, and, in particular, the case method. The virtues of the case method have been often described[1] and a summary of these would probably include the following points:

1 it enables students to apply knowledge gained from lectures, reading and private study, to an actual situation. It thus provides a means by which they can consolidate their understanding of particular approaches, techniques, or specialised methods used in their discipline;

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2 in using cases, students are required to evaluate information, analyse data, and apply their knowledge of a subject to a real life situation. The case method thus forces a student to come to some sort of conclusion or judgment about a situation or problem, and explain – and perhaps defend – this judgment in subsequent discussion;

3 it represents a challenge to students. Normally, there is no 'right' answer to a problem or situation outlined in a case, nor is it usual for a commentary on a case to be drawn directly from a text book. Thus the case method is a teaching activity in which students must think for themselves;

4 it provides a framework which promotes creative thinking. Because opinions on cases are neither 'right' nor 'wrong', students can be as creative as they wish when considering possible solutions to problems expressed in a case;

5 it is a useful form of feedback to the teacher, and to the student, as to the level of understanding reached by the student on the subject matter of the course;

6 students usually find cases interesting, and often amusing or intriguing, and perceive case discussions as stimulating activities. Thus the use of the case method may be a major factor in motivating students to master the theory and detail of their discipline, and relate it to practicalities.

The value of the case method as a teaching activity would seem to be self-evident. However, statements such as those above are difficult to express in a form which can be measured and validated. In addition, it is also possible to question what would appear to be the major assumption which underlies the use of cases: that knowledge and insight gained through the case method are applicable in more or less similar 'real World' circumstances. That is, skill in case analysis can be skill in real world analysis. This may not necessarily be a valid assumption. Consequently, the case method must be used with care, and the suitability of a particular case, and its place in the content of a course, is a matter of some concern.

However, as one of a range of teaching activities, the method has many advantages, and, in recent years, a significant increase has been seen in its use in Colleges and Universities. In particular, the case method has been found to be useful in courses which are concerned with the study of management, and there are now numerous collections of cases based on episodes and situations which have occurred in commercial and industrial organisations. Although private sector management has been a source for many cases, relatively few cases are concerned with management activities in the public sector. Of the public administration cases which are generally available, most are based on information obtained from Departments, Authorities or Agencies in western Europe, or the United States, and few of these are concerned directly with problems or situations encountered by administrators involved in the provision and management of services at the local level. This has meant that there are gaps in the range of cases available to students of public management: there are few cases which focus on problems of urban management, and there is a lack of cases which are based on situations obtaining in developing countries. Given these circumstances, development administration courses which examined urban activities, and which included cases, would have had to 'borrow' these from the private sector, or use public administration cases based on situations which had occurred in industrialised countries.

In the past, this was the practice with regard to courses conducted by the Development Administration Group. Cases from the private sector, and public administration cases from industrialised countries, were used on courses which focused on urban management, and whose participants mainly were administrators from developing countries. It was not, therefore, unusual for members of the Group not only to encounter some emotional resistance to the use of such cases, but also to have questions raised about their relevance for persons whose field of experience was with urban government in countries of the third world. The Development Administration Group therefore decided that an attempt should be made to help fill the urban management gap in the available case literature. The idea was that a range or set of problems would be identified which, typically, would be the concern of administrators operating in regional or local governments. As far as possible, the focus of attention would be on the 'management' rather than the 'political' aspects of such problems, and, by using data drawn from developing countries, a series of cases would be prepared highlighting the way in which urban authorities or agencies, planned, managed and monitored their activities. It was not intended that the cases would be examples of 'good' or 'bad' management practices. Their aim would be to illustrate management activities which had occurred, or were current, in the public sector in a developing country. The cases would then be used as a basis for class discussion. It was hoped that the cases would be of particular interest to civil servants, local government staff, and other public service officers in developing countries, whose concern was with the practical problems of urban government.

The Development Administration Group received a research grant from the Ministry of Overseas Development, and, between 1973 and 1975, field work was undertaken in South-East Asia, and a series of cases in urban management was drafted.

Case Exercises in Urban Management

Cases can take a variety of forms, and there are alternative ways of grouping management cases. One useful classification is that of Murray, who has suggested that there are three basic types of case: research case studies, narrative case studies, and problem case studies.[1]

Although in narrative form, a Research case will be the conclusion of an extended research inquiry conducted according to the requirements of the methodology of the social sciences.[2]

Narrative case studies are accounts of administrative episodes, and Murray suggests that they probably will be smaller in scope and design than research cases. When using narrative case studies, the reader usually will be free to analyse, comment on, or discuss any of the events described in the case.[3]

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[1]Murray, D. J., *Case Studies as a Form of Enquiry*, Public Administration Course, Block II, Part 4, p 165, Open University, 1974.

[2]See for example: Chapman, R. A., *Decision Making* Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1968.

[3]See for example: ed. De Guzman, R. P., *Patterns in Decision Making*, College of Public Administration, University of the Philippines, 1963.

Problem case studies could be 'invented', or based on actual events. Probably they would be shorter than narrative cases, and would have a different format in that the description of the administrative activity or situation would be presented in such a way as to conclude with a problem. Thus the individual, or group of people, considering the case would be faced with a problem-solving exercise.

The cases prepared by the Development Administration Group would be classified as problem case studies. They are based on actual administrative episodes, and conclude by placing the reader in some form of decision situation. However, as the cases focus on particular issues which are highlighted and given emphasis in the text, and as some of the cases are in sequential form – that is, the reader is required to consider and come to a decision on one stage, before proceeding to the next stage of the case, it has been found useful to refer to this group of studies as case exercises.

The utility of the cases is based on two premises. First, that major advances in public management will depend upon administrators applying knowledge from a range of social science subjects, including economics, sociology, social psychology, and management science, to improve the way in which they do their job. This factor may have particular relevance to developing countries, where a shortage of experienced administrators compounds managerial problems.

The second premise is that cases which focus on the provision and management of services in urban areas in one developing country, have relevance for, and are of interest to administrators from a wide range of developing countries. That is, problems which arise in one developing country when planning and implementing urban services, and possible solutions to such problems, have much in common with urban problems, and alternative urban development strategies, which are under examination in other developing countries.[1]

The series of case exercises developed by the Group is intended as a supplement to lecture courses, and private reading, which are concerned with public management at the urban level in developing countries. The exercises are based on information obtained from urban areas in South-East Asia, and much of the data has been drawn from Consultants' Reports, from studies conducted by local Organisation and Methods Teams, from proposals and reports prepared by Departments and Agencies of Government, as well as from interviews with administrators involved in the provision and management of urban services.

The cases prepared during the field work period can be grouped under two headings. First, those concerned with planning the development of, and managing particular urban services. Second, those concerned with the overall management arrangements for the provision of a range of services throughout an urban area.

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[1]The similarity of urban problems is examined in:
ed. Miles, S. R. *Metropolitan Problems* Methuen, 1970.
The range of urban problems is also considered in:
IBRD *World Bank Operations*, Urbanisation, pp 407–513, Johns Hopkins Press, 1972.

Case Exercises in the Policy and Management of Urban Services

The objective of this group of cases is to provide course participants with an opportunity to examine how particular urban problems were defined, or particular services managed, in a developing country. The cases culminate in a problem, or series of problems, and, on the basis of the knowledge gained from lectures and reading, course members are asked to suggest an approach or a solution to such problems. The services and management activities covered in these cases include:

Water supply.

The provision of sewerage facilities.

The collection and disposal of solid wastes.

The provision and management of public housing.

Squatter resettlement schemes.

Transportation and traffic management.

Urban redevelopment.

The introduction of computers.

Case Exercises in the Management of Urban Areas

The objective of these cases is to provide course participants with an opportunity to apply their knowledge of the methods of management analysis, and theories of organisational change, to urban management structures in a developing country. These cases also culminate in a problem, thus allowing course members to suggest changes and improvements which would, in their view, lead to a more effective organisation. The topics which are examined in these cases include:

A management organisation for a metropolitan authority.

The management structure and financial process of an urban local authority.

The organisation of a public agency for urban development.

Apart from providing an opportunity for individual and group inquiry and discussion, the case exercises have a second purpose: to allow course members to 'monitor' the suitability of their own conclusions. In both sets of cases, where the problem or topic under consideration had been the subject matter of a report or recommendations by local Administrators, or had been examined by Consultants, a summary of such a report, or list of recommendations, is included. This description of what actually happened, or what was recommended, will enable course members to measure the value of their own suggestions against the 'real world' suggestions. That is, the case exercises not only allow course participants to compare their thinking with that of local Administrator or Consultant, but also provide them with an opportunity to evaluate, and comment on the 'official' viewpoint or suggestions.

All the case exercises prepared by the Development Administration Group are based on actual events, but changes have been made in names and dates. Although 'disguising' the source of a case is fairly common, it is by no means a convention in case presentation. However, organisations are dynamic, managers in the public

sector are aware of their problems, and measures are taken to reduce and overcome these difficulties. The Group took the view that it could be a source of embarrassment to saddle a named organisation with management problems which may have long been solved. In addition, use has been made of reports, studies, and other documents prepared by local managers, and consultants, in order to show how urban problems were measured and to illustrate one approach to their solution. Such extracts have been further simplified to meet the objectives of a particular case. The presentation of this information as part of a case exercise may do less than justice to the way in which particular groups of consultants and analysts have collected and evaluated data, the content and tone of their argument, the depth of their discussion, and the conditions, constraints or caveats which may have accompanied their recommendations. Consequently, a slightly disguised format was considered necessary.

The case exercises which have been prepared, will be used on courses provided by the Development Administration Group. Any necessary revision will be made in the content of the cases, and the way in which they are presented, in the light of experience. As some of the cases may be of interest to members of staff in Colleges and Institutes concerned with development administration studies, it is intended that the revised set of case exercises will be published. Further details about these can be obtained from the Development Administration Group at the University of Birmingham.

More Memoirs as a Source for a Service History[1]

A. H. M. KIRK-GREENE

REVIEW ARTICLE

When, eighteen months ago, the Editor of the *Journal* allowed me a generous space to put down some tentative thoughts on autobiography as a primary source for a history of the Colonial Service (see 'Reflections on a Putative History of the Colonial Administrative Service', Journal of Administration Overseas, XIV, January 1975, 39–44), I commented in that review article on the limited amount of biographical as well as autobigraphical material to hand. Maybe I should have remembered the proverb about it seldom raining without pouring. For within the space of a year, nine new books have appeared, all focusing on the heart of the matter. This review considers over half of them: three gubernatorial autobiographies two ambassadorial memoirs, one symposium from our successor Permanent Secretaries thinking aloud; and, to cite the author's own paronomasiac title, one ancient's amiable anecdotage. The editor is reviewer for two more from the list; one, a biographical study of Sir Donald Cameron appeared in the July Number, and the other, a personal account of a district officer's life in Tanganyika between 1923 and 1944 will be included in the next issue.

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[1] *Lasting Legacy: A Story of British Colonialism*, by Sir Kenneth Blackburne; Johnson, 1976; pp xiv, 206; £4.80.

King George's Keys, by Sir Robert Stanley; Johnson, 1945; pp xv, 248; £4.20.

Footprints, by Sir Selwyn Selwyn-Clarke; Sino-American Publishers, Hong Kong, 1975; pp 189; £3.00.

A Decade of Public Administration in Africa, edited by Anthony H. Rweyemamu and Goran Hyden; East African Literature Bureau, Nairobi, 1975 (Management and Administration Series No 5); pp xxi, 377; £7.50, paperback £5.00.

Hands to Play, by Lawrence Grafftey-Smith; Routledge and Kegan Paul 1975; pp x, 221; £4.50.

On the Spot, by Sir David Hunt; Peter Davies, 1975; pp ix, 259; £3.90.

An Eastern Cadet's Anecdotage, by Andrew Gilmour; University Education Press, Singapore, 1974; pp 174; £4.20, paperback £2.50.

Each of the three Colonial Governors enjoyed a markedly different climb to the top: yet all might be said to have been typical without being stereotyped. While both Sir Kenneth Blackburne and Sir Robert Stanley had the advantage of including Nigeria as their training ground for a career in colonial administration, the former came in through the novel (1926) and highly attractive Fursian doors of a fourth year at Oxbridge and the latter through a commission in the regular army. Whereas Stanley continued his apprenticeship with appointments zig-zagging across the empire – Cyprus, Barbados, Gibraltar and Northern Rhodesia – before reaching his 'long hoped for and final promotion', the new High Commissionership of the Western Pacific Territories, Blackburne followed a different route, with a period of 'beachcombing' and another of high-ranking special duty at the Colonial Office (he was its first, and outstandingly successful, Director of Information Services, responsible for the memorable Colonial Exhibition of 1949) before he was sent to the West Indies to put the shaky Leeward Islands on their feet. He ended up as Governor, later Governor-General of Jamaica. Stanley was 53 when he gained his first governorship; Blackburne was 42, the youngest serving colonial governor of the time, and earlier, at 33, the youngest Colonial Secretary. Sir Selwyn Selwyn-Clarke (whose death sadly occurred as this review was being written) represented yet another way of mounting the steps of Government House. Like Blackburne in Jamaica, he is remembered with enormous affection by the Seychellois, where he was governor for six years, from 1945 to 1951. He is also remembered with special interest by Colonial Service historians, for as a distinguished member of the Colonial Medical Service he was one of those minority appointments to a governorship from among professional men and not from the Administrative Service – Clement Attlee, rather than his overshadowed Colonial Secretary of State, had one or two others to his name in that first post-war Labour government, among them Lord Baldwin, Sir Kenneth Blackburne's distinctly unorthodox predecessor in the Leeward Islands. Finally, a dwindling band of admirers will remember Selwyn-Clarke for his magnificent courage in Hong Kong where he spent nineteen appalling months in solitary confinement as a wartime prisoner of the Japanese.

Inevitably, then, here are three quite different records by three equally different Colonial Service governors. Each in its own way is a contribution; none renders the other otiose; all have something the others do not to place them in the 'to be read' class. Since life at the higher levels of the modern Colonial Service (modern here by virtue of its rapidity of communications and visiting firemen in a way unknown to Lugard, Clifford and Cameron – for which relief all three would have uttered, none too silently, profound thanks!) inevitably involves meeting hundreds of notable people, it is a pity that the Selwyn-Clarke volume lacks an index. Its long list of corrigenda is a depressing alternative. Otherwise, each of the three gubernatorial reminiscences will establish a claim on a certain group of followers, and despite his unashamed Clare College prejudice in favour of the Blackburne record this reviewer would not want to have read one without the others. Sir Kenneth, by the way, has some nice things to say about the calibre of the Colonial Office staff, a view from which Field Marshal Sir Gerald Templer, speaking from *his* experience of three years as High Commissioner of Malaya, pungently dissents. Blackburne is nonetheless critical in general of colonial government for its too frequent and dangerous

reliance on 'by guess and by God'. In a journal of this one's professional character, however, a reviewer should do more than note the theme of a book and award a starred First or a hair-breadth's Third. Apart from the value, already unmistakably implied, of these different kinds of contributions towards a current study of the making of the colonial governor or a potential history of the Colonial Service, another question deserves to be raised in a reading of these accounts of colonial administrators' careers. Blackburne with his 'modest degree' in geography, Stanley as a graduate of the Royal Military Academy at Woolwich, Selwyn-Clarke with his professional qualification as a doctor, all became colonial governors in an age that had long outdistanced the patronage appointments of the 19th-century Colonial Office. Was it something inherent in their character, however elusive or indefinable, that took them to the top? Did they gain from experience on the job something indispensable that could never have been taught formally? In these post-independence days dedicated to a positive belief in the deliberate training of Africa's own administrators, does the man with his MA in Public Administration or his DPA *ipso facto* make the better administrator, or were the ICS after all not so wide of the mark when they put their money on the disciplined first-class mind, regardless of subject? Or is it merely a matter of semantics, the difference between yesterday's administrators and the bureaucrats of today? There may be no all-satisfying answer to such a conundrum, but this reviewer for one was rarely aware within the Service of any of his latter-day African colleagues' reservations and jealousies about respecting or happily serving under officials who lacked a First in Public Administration or who had no degree at all. Seldom was a paper 'qualification' even thought of within the pre-localising Service. Some of the finest District Commissioners in the whole history of the Colonial Service were among those cadets whom time and the Appointments pundits could not allow three years at the university and who went straight to Africa after 1939–45 war service.

So much for the gubernatorial cadre. On the assumption that a worthwhile study of colonial administrators in action would not simply close with the hauling down of the Union Jack but would need to consider the localisation of the civil service and Britain's institutional legacy, a number of new sources have become relevant since independence. No longer can the researcher be satisfied at his omniscience of the African scene if he has read every book catalogued under 'colonial administration'. There is an indispensable African as well as an expatriate dimension to the story: colonial coins, too, have two sides. For instance, practically the total assessment of Africanisation programmes and the consequent range of public service training has been undertaken, in the literature, by the trainers and not the trained.[1] It is for this reason that *A Decade of Public Administration in Africa* assumes the status of such a landmark in the study of the public service in post-colonial Africa. Virtually for the first time, leading African officials, heads of the civil service and permanent secretaries, have expressed in print what they believe to be the new directions and methods of public administration. In international terms, incidentally, this is a field

[1] This point, and a proposal for its solution, have been elaborated in Mr Kirk-Greene's article 'Administration and Africanisation: An Autobiographical Approach to an Evaluation', *Journal of Administration Overseas*, XIII, January 1974, 259–268. Ed

in which Africa, through the development of its Institutes of Public Administration since the late 1950s, has played a unique role, as the new volume edited by Adebayo Adedeji and Colin Baker, *Education and Research in Public Administration in Africa* (1974) and a chapter in Christopher Fyfe's forthcoming Festschrift volume in honour of Basil Davidson, *African Studies since 1945*, clearly show. Take just a quick glance at some of the topics discussed here by these leading African bureaucrats, frankly and without playing to any gallery of sensitive politicians or touchy nationalists: 'From Colonial Rule to Local Administration', 'The Administrator and Change', 'Tenure of Office of Top Civil Servants', 'The Case for the Professionalization of Public Administration', 'Strategy and Tactics for Administrative Reform', 'The Role of Public Service Commissions in New African States'. The papers are grouped within five tell-tale sections: the changing role of the African administrator, the shift in strategy from Africanization to professional training for public service, public service reform, governmental delegation to public enterprises, and the improvement of the decision-making process in development administration.

Apart from one or two papers in Adedeji's *Nigerian Administration and its Political Setting* (1968) and in James Nti's *The Task of the Administrator in Developing Societies* (1967), both expressing views possible only because of the demise of the respective First Republics, and of course the somewhat separate and specialised category of such recent reports on public service reform in Africa as those by Mills-Odoi (1967), Ndegwa (1971), Wamalwa (1972), Adebo (1973), and Udoji (1974), I can think of no more important single publication on the problems and priorities of African administration by practising African administrators than this selective volume of all that was best in the ten years of the respected annual Inter-African Public Administration Seminar. Here is a must for everyone wishing to be in touch with contemporary African thinking on African public service affairs.

Furthermore in the field of reminiscences, among proconsuls Africa is no longer the exclusive preserve of the Colonial Service. Today more and more members of the Foreign Service (not only Britain's, either) are undergoing an African apprenticeship. Soon if not already, a posting to Nairobi or Lagos or Accra may be as much a feather in the ambitious diplomat's cap as Vienna and St Petersburg were a century ago or as Colombo and Kuala Lumpur were to those seeking gubernatorial plumes fifty years back. Certainly no student of wartime Africa when the British occupied pro-Vichy Madagascar, or of the demission of power in the Sudan, would want to overlook Sir Laurence Grafftey-Smith's[1] well-written memoirs of a diplomat between 1942 and 1956. Indeed, if one recalls Grafftey-Smith's first autobiographical volume, *Bright Levant* (1971), which described his years as a member of the now defunct Levant Consular Service, earlier memorialised in Sir Reader Bullard's immortal *The Camels Must Go* (1961), and then turns to his present reflexions on the last days of the great Indian Civil (he was British High Commissioner in Karachi from 1947 to 1951) and the Sudan Political (he was British delegate to the International Commission on the Sudan from 1953 to 1956) Services, one will realise

[1]Like Sir Kenneth Blackburne, here is another instance of a clergyman's son reaching the top.

at once that here is a bonus for any detailed study of the rundown of those Services consequent upon the transfer of power.

Because of his role, often controversial but consistently honourable and admired, in the Nigerian Civil War, when he was British High Commissioner in Lagos, Sir David Hunt is a name more likely to be recognised by the Africanist researcher. But he was, of course, much more than a successful and popular High Commissioner to Nigeria. Sir David was also, at various times, Under-Secretary in charge of the Africa desk at the Commonwealth Relations Office in 1959, adviser on Africa to Prime Minister Macmillan whom he accompanied on that historic whirlwind of change tour of Africa, in 1960 Deputy High Commissioner in Nigeria and High Commissioner to Uganda in 1962. Nor, as High Commissioner in Cyprus in 1965, was he beyond the old colonial circle! As far as I know, for all its other merits the Colonial Service never numbered among its proconsuls an Oxbridge don with a double first and a coveted college Fellowship. Sir David's memoirs, a delight to read, reveal the best of that rare combination of talents: sound judgement, width of intelligence and depth of perception, urbanity and wit, and a passion for accuracy with a complementary impatience with woolliness. This is more than the story of an ambassador remembered; it is also that of an ambassador to be remembered. (And, remarkably, once more is it the son of a clergyman who is being discussed).

Once again we may provocatively close this sub-section of the review article with an extrapolation to a higher level of generality. While it might be difficult and would probably be nugatory to try and assess the respective quality of men in the FO, the ICS, the Sudan Political, and the Colonial Service (or, under the last rubric, the would-be-different Malay Civil Service and Far Eastern Cadetships or the Palestine *versus* Tropical African services), there is room for – and some profit in – thought on whether the Colonial Service would have improved its image (not necessarily its performance), at home as well as abroad, if it too had like the ICS and FO and Home Civil gone for entry by examination. The legendary Furse might well turn in his grave at the voicing of such a heresy, but in the darker days of decolonisation when a cheap sneer at Britain's alleged outdoor relief for her middle classes or a snide innuendo that no District Officer would make way for his African junior because he simply was not academically qualified to find a respectable job at home, the ability to prove statistically rather than to argue sincerely that every DO appointed since 1926 was, to borrow a concept from the army, 'officer material', would have saved a lot of anxious soul-searching and angry heart-burning.

Andrew Gilmor was one of those Colonial Service officers who did enter by competitive examination. Appointment to the First Division of the Home Civil Service, the ICS and the Eastern Cadetships in Ceylon, Hong Kong, Straits Settlements and Malay States was based on a single examination, most of the vacancies being in the Malayan Civil Service. As its title implies, this is less a coherent autobiography of a career in the Malayan Civil Service than a light-hearted and good-natured scrapbook of service stories, a personal *pot-pourri*. While the non-MCS reader may find in it echoes of *Wide World* magazine, one-time 'Heaven-born' readers and the serious outside researcher into Colonial Service history will be grateful for the many

minutiae of the trivial round and common task of an Eastern Cadet in the pre-war Straits Settlements and Federated Malay States. As it happens, Sir Kenneth Blackburne, too, has some interesting things to say on the unfortunate divisions in the ranks of the once-elite MCS immediately after 1945 and quotes Malcom Macdonald's conclusion that some of the officials were, exceptionally, just not up to the job.

A final thought is prompted by Gilmour's memoirs. How many civil services, especially in Africa with their irritating post-war reticence in the Staff Lists on the *c.v* of their officials which compares so sharply with the elaborate details in the old Blue Books, can match Richard Hill's invaluable biographical record of the Sudan Political Service and the exhaustive Indian Civil Lists or equal the Singapore quip about the pre-war Malay Civil List being the best dollar's worth of social information on the market? Yet for the serious chronicler of the Colonial Service, access to basic biographical data on who/what/when/where will remain the *sine qua non* of conscientious scholarship and convincing interpretation.

Book Reviews

Development Administration: Current Approaches and Trends in Public Administration for National Development, C. Y. Wu. *Published by the United Nations* (Sales No E 76 II H.1); $US 8.00.

Very soon after its establishment in 1945 the United Nations recognised the important part that public administration would play in raising the standards of living of a large part of the world's population. It therefore established a Public Administration Division within the Department of Economic and Social Affairs. Since 1973 several functions of the former Division of Public Finance and Financial Institution were incorporated into the Division's programme and it became the Division of Public Administration and Finance.

The Director of the PAD from July 1967 until March 1972 was Dr C. Y. Wu, a United Nations career official. Since his retirement he has been engaged in writing a study under the title *Development Administration: Current Approaches and Trends in Public Administration for National Development*. This has now been issued by the UN but with the proviso usual to such publications that the views and opinions are those of the author and do not necessarily reflect those of the UN.

The study has been divided into three parts – background information, development of administration, and administration for development. This plan has perhaps an elegance which the book itself does not fully reflect. In particular, the third section contains a good deal of description of organisations – the three main chapters dealing with government departments, regulating administration and public enterprise as instruments of development. To some readers the part heading 'administration for development' will raise hopes of insights into the ways by which the bureaucratic machine can be got into higher gear and can achieve better speeds at fewer miles to the gallon. This reviewer had just such hopes, but must confess to disappointment.

Those who knew Dr Wu when he was in office will recall his immense enthusiasm for the work of his Division, and the unflagging energy and resourcefulness which he devoted to its cause. The same dedication reveals itself in this study. The question must be posed, however, whether the task he set himself was not one that by its

nature was impossible of achievement. Let us consider the major difficulties with which the author is faced. First, he must try to incorporate the varying, and sometimes conflicting, ideas of the major countries in membership of the UN – or at least he must give no offence to any of them. Second, he has to cover countries at different stages of development. Third, he has to consider the administrative requirements of countries of vastly different sizes. Fourth, he has to allow for a variety of cultural backgrounds with uneven propensities to social and economic change. To begin to analyse the many permutations of political and administrative actions that might be necessary in the 100 or more member states of the UN to secure national development would be a task well beyond the capability of a single author.

The result is, therefore, a study which is highly generalised, and tends to be a compendium of reflections and broad objectives, rather than a handbook for action. It is one thing to record that government has become more complex, or that devolution is a good thing. It is quite another, however, to know how to reduce complexity or to overcome it; and, as successive British Prime Ministers will testify, a system of devolution is not the easiest thing in the world to design.

The UN's work in public administration assistance tends to be dominated by the thought and modes of expression fashioned in the United States. This is to some extent inevitable. The UN has its headquarters there, and more (and larger) books about public administration are published in the US than anywhere else in the world. The habitat in which this scholarship and literature thrives is, however, a very rich one, and what is natural there may not be transferable to other countries which are much smaller and much poorer. One is forcibly reminded of this fact by a reading of Dr Wu's latest study. He duly records all the latest devices of administrative technology, as well as the more rudimentary principles evolved in earlier times. Many UN members just will not have, however, manpower resources of sufficient quantity and quality to adopt a half of the devices which the author commends to his readers; nor if they had is it at all certain that the devices themselves would be effective in another social environment. They have been devised in a highly individualistic, materialistic and competitive society in which hard work, efficiency and personal advancement are taken for granted as the qualities which people admire and to which they aspire. But these are not the only qualities which make for human happiness, and they are not necessarily regarded as paramount in the countries for whom Dr Wu is writing.

This publication has a value in providing a record of the ideas that were evolved by the Public Administration Division for the first 25 years of the UN's technical assistance programme. During that time the Division was no doubt hampered by the fact that responsibility for financial administration resided in another part of the UN's organisation. Now that the two have been brought together the work of the new Division will perhaps develop new emphases. If so, the successor volume to this may have less space devoted to organisation and personnel, and more to the allocation of resources, both physical and financial. Will it, however, if it is to relate to the world as a whole, be any more successful in detailing the means to be followed as well as describing the ends that are desired?

RAYMOND NOTTAGE

Legal Education in a Changing World. *International Legal Centre, New York in conjunction with Scandinavian Institute of African Studies.* Uppsala. pp 94 (no price shown).

This is the report of a Committee on Legal Education in the Developing Countries, set up by the International Legal Center in New York, and consisting of a number of legal scholars from Asia, Africa and Latin America. The purposes of the report were to describe and analyse existing systems of legal education in these continents, 'to identify different, possible social and educational functions of legal education, notably university legal education, and suggest ways of planning and strengthening it as a system of activity affecting development'; and to suggest new lines of possible research. Recognizing the complexity and far-ranging character of the subject, the scarceness of information on existing systems of legal education, the variety of views about such problems, and the dangers of generalisation, the committee disclaimed any attempt at systematic research (which would be an enormous endeavour), and put forward their report rather as "a critique and a 'think paper' ".

In both these latter respects the report is certainly successful, as one would expect from such a highly qualified and committed group of legal scholars. Criticisms of existing systems of legal education there are in plenty; and many of the committee's views will indisputably provoke further thought, and one hopes action, by those responsible for or concerned with legal education. Since the latter category includes not only law teachers and their students, the legal profession generally, and the state authorities, but also all consumers of legal services (that is, the mass of the populations in each country), the potential interest in the recommendations and analyses of the report will be very large. All the more reason, then, to read it carefully and critically; and it is when one does this that a number of reservations spring to mind. To mention these is in no way to detract from, or to fail to endorse, some of the salient, perceptive and relevant observations to be found in the report, of which there are many which one would heartily support. But there is a certain danger, not of emptying out the baby with the bath-water, but of pouring so much into the basin of legal education – sociological, educational, political and other concerns of one type and another – that the poor little baby of the law itself may be drowned in the process. Or, as the poet Roy Campbell put it in a piece about some South African novelists whom he saw as expert in the techniques of horse-riding, 'But where's the bloody horse?' In their reaction against the idea of law as a set of norms or rules, and against legal education as formal instruction in those rules, the committee seem to forget that the ordinary business of the law and the lawyer must go on, humdrum and rulebound though it may sometimes be; and that one of the functions of legal education, at least in so far as it purports to provide an intellectual foundation for future legal practice, must be to provide a knowledge and understanding of the rules and techniques which will be later employed by the practitioner in his daily round.

'Law in context', then, is an entirely acceptable philosophy – rules of law detached from their social background have no meaning, because no social function; but in focusing on the context one must not overlook the law. The context which the

committee were here concerned with was that of the 'developing' or 'less developed' countries. In a few words the committee try to isolate which countries they are proposing to deal with; needless to say, they cannot find an exact definition. However, there are some characteristics of less developed countries which they think mark them out from the more developed countries, historically (the fact that they have generally gone through the colonial experience) and economically and socially (the fact that they are poor). When one turns to law and legal education in particular, the committee mention as common features of the less developed countries the shortage of money for legal education and legal services; the shortage of competent, properly motivated and trained, law teachers; the special relationship between law and development in such countries; the dominant role of the state in many of them; their plural legal systems; and the remoteness of the law from the people, and the people from the law.

Unfortunately, we cannot say that any of these characteristics is confined to the less developed countries; as I shall try to show in a moment, they are shared by the 'more developed' countries as well. Even if this were not so, the social facts in all the countries of Asia, Africa, and Latin America, which vary so enormously in wealth history, education, and institutions, hardly justify lumping them together, even, in a crude way, in a study such as this.

1) Poverty, the principal defining characteristic, is a relative, not an absolute, term. Some of the countries of the Middle East (which are within the committee's terms of reference but are hardly mentioned) are now enormously wealthy. Particular regions of the developed world (Sicily, Spain, the USSR, the USA) are poor and ill-served with facilities. The effect of lack of resources on provision of legal services is experienced in the United States or England as well as in Brazil or India. There is not enough money for all that the reformers would like to do. Legal education in its turn is impoverished by lack of funds: thus legal publishing languishes (as the report points out) in the developed world, and law teachers cannot get their vital innovatory materials printed.

2) Two things must be said about the colonial experience and its effect on law and legal education. The first is that many of the countries in question have assimilated the laws which they originally received from outside, and it is sociologically unrealistic to talk as if they were still 'alien' laws. They are indeed still alien to the ordinary man in the street or on the farm; but so indeed are many of the laws in the countries from which these rules were taken. And secondly, the committee are highly critical of the imposition of alien laws on colonial peoples, and there is indeed good ground for the criticism at the moment when the transfer of laws first took place; but this is not a unique phenomenon confined to the countries now classified as ex-colonial. Interchange of laws has gone on throughout the centuries, whether through political mastery or cultural influence: one need only cite the Norman Conquest in England, the effect of the creation of the Austro-Hungarian Empire on the laws of its component peoples, the spread of the Napoleonic Civil Code from its original home, the post-war spread of communist legal ideology and institutions from the Soviet Union to its neighbours in Eastern Europe, to illustrate the process in its diverse forms. In a broader sense, to reject the movement of laws and legal

institutions from one country to another is to deny the comparative method in legislation, a principle laid down by statute in the case of the English and Scottish Law Commissions. Intelligent legislators naturally realise that the social contexts of law differ in different countries; but this difference must surely exist between say the United States and Britain as between Ghana and England.

3) There is a worldwide shortage of law teachers trained and inspired in the way the committee would wish to see for the developing countries. Of how many law teachers in Britain, for instance, can it be said that they are trained as professional lawyers, as professional researchers, and as professional educators, and that they have acquired the sociolegal and multi-disciplinary approach the committee supports?

4) The role of law, both as a reflection of social arrangements in society and as an instrument of purposive social change, does not differ qualitatively in the less developed and more developed world.

5) While it is true that in many (but by no means all) of the countries in Asia, Africa and Latin America the state occupies a dominant economic role, state enterprise, state control, and state financing of activity are equally dominant in – to take an example nearest home – modern Britain. The committee are right to call attention to the need for law students, and law studies, to concern themselves more adequately with the legal arrangements and problems which this implies.

6) The plural legal systems of many developing countries, to which the committee call attention, are not a necessary feature of less developed states. Many have unitary legal systems. Moreover, in an important sense even countries with purportedly unified legal systems are in reality plural. Thus the apparent unity of English law in England masks the various forms of legal arrangements and activities at different social levels and in different milieux. (The similarity to different dialects and registers of the national language is striking.)

7) Lastly, it is a complaint one hears repeatedly today that the law in developed countries is remote from the people. They do not understand it; they are afraid to make use of it, because of the expense of unfamiliarity. Access to law is not a problem only of underdeveloped societies.

One concludes paradoxically that practically all the analyses and prescriptions put forward by the committee are equally valid for the developed world. Even more paradoxically, these prescriptions are more likely to be put into effect in the developed world, because of its greater richness in qualified persons, cash, and innovative institutions. The committee refer constantly to the need to have regard to the social setting of the law in the less developed countries; but one is bound to observe that this has not been fully borne in mind by them. When the reviewer thinks of the realities of law teaching in the Third World, he cannot fail to wonder how on earth these countries are to get the highly-qualified and effective law teachers the committee seek. Universities struggling along on inadequate budgets; law schools understaffed by young men who depart to practice as soon as they are established in their profession; no money for books; students who demand formal instruction; governments highly suspicious of law teaching which involves any

criticism, however indirect, of government policy on legislation – how can all this suddenly be changed to accommodate the ideal pattern described by the committee?

Implementation of the committee's recommendations involves resolution of contradictions which are intrinsic to the subject, contradictions of which the contradictory elements are mentioned in the report without a perception of the fact that they contradict each other. Thus legal education as 'socialisation' of the students (which they recommend) appears to conflict with legal instruction as a reinforcement of the social and legal status quo (which they condemn). Their criticism of law teaching as being too academic and remote from practical problems and experience has to be fitted in with their criticism of present legal education as too practitioner and practice-dominated. Law is recommended as a general education (rightly so); but countries which provide mass education for university students in their law faculties attract criticism. The committee's sharp attacks on foreign interference with the Third World countries' legal systems – through the introduction of colonial laws, the roles of expatriate advisers from England, the United States, and continental Europe in shaping laws and law schools, and the copying of laws by such countries from models in the developed world – might well be turned against themselves. The 'neopaternalism', by which a new intellectual elite prescribes attitudes and institutions for the developing world, is just as much to be reprehended as the old-style colonial or paternalistic mentality. The fact that some 'socialist' countries in the Third World now borrow laws from the communist countries of the developed world is presumably open to the same sorts of criticism as are brought against borrowings from the liberal-democratic section of the world. And the encouragement to law students to think for themselves about existing laws and institutions, through the use of student-centred teaching methods, may well conflict with governmental policies and practices in states with a ruling ideology and orthodoxy, where it is the state machine which determines what laws and institutions there shall be, and what may be thought about them.

The length of this review, and the fact that much of the detail and argument in the report has had to be neglected because of the space available, show how rich the report is, and what a useful basis it will form for future discussions of law and legal education in the developing world, provided always it is remembered there are two sides to any of the issues presented starkly (and admittedly with a certain bias) in this report. It is a pity, though, that an important document of this sort, which demands wide readership and deep consideration, should not be written in a language which will be easily understood by the audience to which it is addressed. The sort of sociological Newspeak, full of jargon and cascades of abstract nouns, so much favoured in transatlantic writings and the reports of international bodies, has unfortunately infected the present report. The result is a loss of clarity, a gain of verbosity, and hence a diminution of effectiveness as a communication. Probably some of the sentences which are obscure have a meaning; but one should not be forced to speculate or read between the lines. 'In various settings, some (perhaps many) of the aspirations of various official, "modern" laws may be inchoate or dysfunctional.' (p 41) '. . . methodology is simply a means to address objectives.' (p 63, n.)

A. N. ALLOTT

The Government and Politics of Hong Kong, NORMAN MINERS. *Oxford University Press;* pp 300 incl index & appendices; £8.50 boards edn, £5.95 paper cover.

Mr Miners opens his preface by saying that his book 'is not written to prove a thesis or test a hypothesis; . . . It is intended simply to be a description of the way the crown colony of Hong Kong is run in the year 1975, within the constraints imposed upon it by its international position and its economy'.

The text fully justifies him. This is an essentially accurate and refreshingly objective survey of the author's subject. There are some points of emphasis which could be challenged but there is nevertheless much to applaud in the perspicacity and lucidity of this work: taken as a whole, it well captures the reality of the why and how of Hong Kong affairs.

It is readable and well laid out. The notes are helpfully arranged, there is a full bibliography and a good index. The quotations in the Appendices are so selected as to well illuminate the text.

In particular, the book goes a long way towards putting into proper perspective many matters often the subject of misunderstanding or misrepresentation. The author correctly portrays the extent of the real powers of the Governor and senior civil servants. He demolishes the persistent local belief that the Government acts in the United Kingdom's interest rather than Hong Kong's; analysing (with perhaps some exaggeration) the ways in which he feels the United Kingdom connection is mutually beneficial, and also referring to the instances of ungenerosity and lack of consideration with which Hong Kong has sometimes been treated.

The important influence on policy that the public, and Unofficial Members of the Executive and Legislative Councils in particular, exercise is well described (this is particularly frequently misrepresented by some other commentators). The book discusses fairly but not uncritically the common charge that Government is insensitive to, or unduly ignorant of, local Chinese feelings and opinions; dealing fully with the relationship of such failings as are pointed out to the unavoidable lack of a representative system of government.

As final examples of the corrective nature of this book, Mr Miners puts in proper context both the 'sweat-shop of the East' charge so often made against Hong Kong industry, and the old canard that China could bring Hong Kong to its knees, rather than merely embarrass her in drought conditions, by denying the winter water supply.

On the whole the colony's relations with China, with Britain intervening as it were, are well discussed although some of the probable factors which incline China towards continuing to accept the present situation (always supposing, as the author says, Chinese attitudes remain rational) are not perhaps given all the weight they might be. For example, the probability is greater than is suggested that very large numbers of

Hong Kong people would have to be removed from the city to the interior, for lack of employment, if the colony were taken over; and such removals are an unpopular enough policy in China itself already. Again, China in these days would surely think twice before tarnishing its international reputation by threatening the position of the firms from very many foreign countries now prosperously ensconced in Hong Kong.

The book includes particularly thoughtful and interesting sections on local government and on local political activities and attitudes. In a section attempting to analyse why local Chinese are not more interested in conventional politics, all the standard explanations are paraded, and all no doubt have some validity, but the argument here remains a shade muddled and unconvincing. Remnants of Confucionist attitudes there may be, but a willingness to forget politics, if allowed, and let a reasonably competent government get on with things is by no means specifically Confucionist!

The sections on the economy and finance cover the subject in sufficient length to meet the book's purposes, and display the author's usual attention to accuracy. The chapter on financial control is particularly good when describing financial mechanisms, but underrates real local (as opposed to a few openly expressed) feelings in the past towards paying higher taxes to provide additional social services above and beyond the heavy social expenditure already being incurred in providing for the most basic needs of vast numbers of new immigrants from China. Attitudes change; but until perhaps 1967–8 there was a very real emotional resistance at all levels in the community to higher taxation, fees and charges; there existed also a general recognition of the vital importance of defending a dangerously vulnerable economy by keeping such imposts low. Some advances in social services soon after the 1967 Cultural Revolution rioting was over were possible not only because opinions changed, but also because a booming economy was producing solid increases in the revenue yield without increases in rates of taxation.

The really welcome feature of this work is that Hong Kong is for once treated with objectivity, care and respect. It is perhaps a slight disappointment not to have seen somewhere at least a brief reference to the feelings of affection and regard Hong Kong has kindled in so many people of all races and degrees; feelings well shown in the extent of that readiness both to undertake voluntary work and to support it financially which is such a feature of Hong Kong life. It is not at all surprising that younger Hong Kong folk are now beginning to look elsewhere; and to imagine that orthodox nationalistic feelings can, or should be, engendered would be obtuse; but post-war Hong Kong could not have managed so successfully to overcome many staggering difficulties without a real dedication to Hong Kong's interests by many: a dedication aroused not just by self-interest but by genuine affection for the place and its vitality.

This book is strongly recommended to students of Far Eastern affairs.

DAVID TRENCH

The World Food Conference and Global Problem Solving, THOMAS G WEISS and ROBERT S JORDAN; *Praeger*, 1976.

As one who shared (with 2000 others) the excitements and frustrations, the traumatic confrontations in the small hours and the heady satisfaction of consensus eventually achieved, of the World Food Conference, I read this book with keen personal interest. I can confirm that this is a wholly accurate and sensitive account of what took place.

On my return from Rome I, along with other participants, gave several addresses describing the Conference and claiming that it had succeeded in achieving all its objectives. People were sceptical. The Press had been misled by the apparent disarray and lack of positive achievements (up to the last 24 hours that is, for everything suddenly fell into place right at the end, by which time the Press had sent off their last despairing despatches and left), and they had given the impression that the Conference had been a virtual failure.

The book puts the record straight. It completely vindicates the view of all those who were there that the World Food Conference was a resounding success, and in many ways a model of its kind. It even goes so far as to claim that it was probably the most successful UN Conference ever held. The success of the Conference is indeed the very rationale of the book. For it sets out to examine in detail the whole process, through the three preparatory meetings in New York, Geneva and Rome (two of which I attended), to the main Conference itself, and identifies the main factors that made for its success. We are going to have to live with global conferences so we might as well try to ensure that they are as successful as possible.

What are the main lessons to be learned? The most important is that a Conference of this sort needs very careful preparation in advance. Those three preparatory meetings were the key to success. They enabled the highly efficient FAO-based Secretariat to focus the work of the main Conference onto a limited number of resolutions and to ensure a high degree of agreement on them even before the main Conference opened.

This book gives a well deserved tribute to the key roles played by Secretary-General Marei and Deputy Secretary-General Aziz, the two chief architects of success, and I was particularly pleased to see the tribute to Ed Martin the indefatigable leader of the American Delegation who did more than any other single delegate to hammer out a consensus when all seemed at its blackest.

The Secretariat's main achievement was the Assessment document which was a masterpiece of its kind and quickly secured the agreement of all participants so that when the Conference opened the arguments were not about the nature of the problem but about the intended solutions.

Success was also due to the excellent timing of the Conference. The world food situation had deteriorated to the point where there was universal agreement that

something should be done about it. There was that underlying political will without which no Conference of this size and complexity has a chance of succeeding.

Finally success was due to the skilled planning of the whole operation from start to finish, and the splendid staff work that went on behind the scenes all the time. There was flexibility (as when Marei abandoned his proposal for a World Food Authority as soon as it became clear that it did not have majority support), and firmness (as when the potentially explosive Peruvian Declaration was so skillfully defused), and foresight (as when detailed plans were being made for follow-up throughout the Conference even when progress seemed imperceptible).

Yet at the end of the day it remains true that the Conference succeeded because enough people wanted it to succeed. As Ed Martin put it: 'The need to eat is shared by everybody'. The world community can walk a little taller because it succeeded. The World Food Conference proved, to quote the closing words of this excellent book 'that human beings are sometimes as strong as the institutions they create'.

This is a book that all students of international affairs should read. Global conferences are likely to be the means by which more and more problems are tackled. We have to understand how to make them work . . . and where better to start than with one that was successful?

B. E. CRACKNELL

The Critical Phase in Tanzania 1945-1968: Nyerere and the Emergence of a Socialist Strategy, CRANFORD PRATT; *Cambridge University Press,* 1976; pp i–x, 1–309; £7.50.

This valuable book examines the political strategies for development in mainland Tanzania between 1945 and 1968. It therefore covers the last sixteen years of British rule and the first seven years of independence, culminating in the emergence of a strong socialist commitment. Its central figure is President Nyerere and its main theme is the development of his political thought.

In Part I, 'British political strategies in Tanganyika 1945–60', the story of how the government until 1958 used legal coercion, exercised through the Native Authorities, to promote rural development and of how it experimented with multi-racialism at central and local levels is well told but will already be familiar to many readers. Those among the latter who were former colonial officers in Tanganyika may question the author's interpretation at certain points, including his assessment of Lord Twining as an opponent of African political advancement – some Europeans in Tanganyika and Kenya regarded Twining as an extreme radical!

Because of the fear of an expatriate exodus, among other reasons, Nyerere felt that he had no option but to choose a neo-colonial dependence upon Britain in 1959 and 1960. Professor Pratt carefully examines the operation of this dependence strategy and shows that one of its effects was to widen the gulf between Nyerere and his

Cabinet colleagues on the one hand and the rank and file of the Tanganyika African National Union (TANU) on the other. It was, he says, to attempt to influence the values of his fellow countrymen that Nyerere resigned as Prime Minister in January 1962; this was no doubt true, but Nyerere also resigned in part because for the first time he had not carried all the party faithful with him at the national executive meeting. Rashidi Kawawa, Nyerere's successor, then initiated policy changes that were popular with party activists, but which Nyerere himself would have been reluctant to introduce. Despite these changes (continues Pratt) Tanzania's foreign policy and development strategy were still oriented towards the West and it took a series of crises in Tanzania's relations with Britain and other Western countries in 1964–65 to shatter finally the basic congruence between her development strategy and her foreign policy. Thereafter, Tanzania's foreign relations were not contingent upon what Catherine Hoskyns has called 'a locally derived overall strategy for development'. The Tanzanian Government took a non-aligned position, seeking to avoid major power entanglements, and this spurred the leadership to radical and independent political, economic, and social experimentation. In this way, writes Professor Pratt convincingly, 'The tendency towards non-alignment and the tendency towards socialism were mutually reinforcing'. (p 171).

In the pre-1967 period, a socially responsible government pursued policies that did not rest on a firm ideological base, but which appeared likely to promote development. How, then, is the commitment to socialism which came with the Arusha Declaration to be explained? The author finds the answer in President Nyerere's perception of, and reaction to, certain basic tendencies within Tanzanian society, namely an authoritarian tendency within the political leadership and the emergence of class stratification within the African population and a widening economic gap between the rural and urban areas. Here, and elsewhere in his study, Professor Pratt shows that he is familiar with the radical, predominantly Marxian analysis of the international and class aspects of Tanzanian underdevelopment. However, his own discussion is not conducted in these terms, and while he agrees that by 1967 there was real class stratification within Tanzanian society, he refuses to identify the civil service in particular as the new class enemy of the workers and peasants in Tanzania. 'Arguments of this sort', he believes, 'are oversimplified and unrealistic'. (p 221).

Professor Pratt rightly maintains that the sections of the Arusha Declaration to which Nyerere attached the greatest importance were those of self-reliance and on leadership. The President considered it vital to remove the capitalist tendencies and interests in government and party leaders if equality, the prime characteristic of a socialist society, was eventually to be achieved. The enhancement of democratic participation was also part of Nyerere's strategy to be followed in the transition to socialism, for 'Democracy is an unavoidable corollary of Nyerere's belief in equality'. (p 244).

The author points out that President Nyerere's thought exhibits some tension between its leadership strand and its democratic strand, and he does not shirk the difficult question as to whether Nyerere by 1967 was ready to accept coercion as a

necessary feature of the transition to socialism. In stating that Nyerere continues to reject coercion, Professor Pratt admits that in recent years some coercion was applied in getting peasants to move into villages, but adds that: 'The coercion which Nyerere appears to accept here is an expression of an impatient nationalism not a coercive socialism'. (p 255). As far as Nyerere's thought is concerned the distinction may be valid, but it is an over-nice distinction for those at the receiving end of government policy. Again, the author contends that Nyerere has never made the assumption that his socialism is objectively or scientifically correct. Yet it is hard to resist the conclusion that since 1967 the President has erected *ujamaa* into official dogma and that this, and other fundamental aspects of national policy, are not open to popular challenge.

In his perceptive discussion of democracy, Professor Pratt might usefully have referred to the courts and the legal system, since it is largely as a result of President Nyerere's own leadership that the independence of the judiciary and the rule of law have been so largely sustained in mainland Tanzania.

I noted a small number of typographical and other errors – Kenneth MacKenzie should read *Bill* (William – WJM) *Mackenzie* (p 39); Fundikira is mis-spelt (p 40); the reference should be to an unofficial (rather than official) majority on the Exexutive Council (p 50); the Cooperative Union of Tanganyika should be abbreviated as CUT and not CUP (p 192 ——); Regional Development Committees already existed, and were not *created*, in 1968 (p 200); there were 15, and not 10, National MPs (p 206); and the rendering should be R. S. Hudson (p 296) and F. H. Page-Jones (p 298).

However, these minor blemishes do not detract from the quality of this excellent study. The author not only supplements our existing knowledge of the 1945–68 period, but also interprets old facts in a new and refreshing light.

WILLIAM TORDOFF

A Review of 'The Sociology of the Third World – Disparity and Involvement', J. E. GOLDTHORPE, *Cambridge University Press*, pp 325, hard cover £6.50, paper back £2.50.

1) The two central 'themes' of the book as stated by the author are the guide to disparity between the rich and poor countries, together with the related disparity between rich and poor people within many third world countries; coupled with the constraints of a world in which all are increasingly involved with one another. The book attempts to analyse the changing patterns of society within the Third World in relation to these themes and as a background to the objectiveness of 'providers of aid'. As such it will be of interest to scholars of social change, and to those involved in policy making and planning within the old framework. A 'big' book in concept and approach, it is full of densely argued and absorbing facts and of diverse references and one imagines that it could provide a useful starting point for discussion of

development issues in seminar and lecture programmes. Indeed one has the impression that the basis of the book is itself derived from Dr Goldthorpe's own lecture courses. If this is indeed the case it may explain some of its strengths and weaknesses, particularly in its method of approach to such diverse and diffuse material.

2) The task which Dr Goldthorpe sets himself in tackling broad themes of economic and social development, which range widely both historically and geographically is ambitious in the extreme and marked by a struggle for coherence. For his treatment is sometimes rather fragmentary in terms of theoretical perspective and in this sense his analytical tools prove not always to be strong enough for the task in hand. In his search for a truly 'synoptic' sociological analysis – a search well worth undertaking – he takes on as sparring partners demographers, historians, economists and political scientists – and there will no doubt be specialists in all those fields who are willing to take issue on various specialist points. Dr Goldthorpe achieves a great deal by making such a courageous attempt to draw the disciplines together under one synoptic umbrella – but it is not surprising that he does not entirely succeed, particularly as at times he allows his mass of material to over-burden his arguments and to cloud his 'themes'.

3) Dr Goldthorpe has attempted to be exhaustive in his treatment but he lacks a unifying explanatory framework; what theoretical base he presents suggests that as an anthropologist he has tried to escape from the 'structural functional' approach to his material, but has not quite succeeded. In consequence we have a rather eclectic theoretical approach which appears to owe as much sometimes to economics as to sociology and anthropology. Whilst this is not in itself a weakness, it does rather weaken the claim by Dr Goldthorpe that he is making a synoptic *sociological* analysis of change. The problem of explaining social change, through the interrelation of structure and process is ever present and Dr Goldthorpe is not alone in struggling to unravel some of the dilemmas and paradoxes. He raises very relevant questions but the disappointment in the book results from the gap between its claims and what it can achieve, given its theoretical constraints. Nor does the coverage of differing theoretical perspectives in the 'relevant literature' fill this gap. Even the introductory discussion of some sociological concepts of development, and the brief review of some theories of change from Combe and Spencer onwards, is not continued into the discussion of material on developing countries, or used to demonstrate the explanatory power of these concepts. Nor does Dr Goldthorpe always acknowledge the contentiousness of some of the theoretical perspectives and schools of thought he describes.

4) This results in a sometimes uneasy relationship between the micro and macro analysis of change – the latter of which inevitably veers over to the economic whilst the former owes much to anthropology. It also reveals an implicit tendency to assumptions of unilinearity in socio-economic change, despite the diversity of social forms discussed, for instance in the chapter on Family in Kinship, and despite the rather routine criticism of, for instance W. W. Rostow's stages of economic growth. (The Marxist analysis is barely touched upon throughout the book.) The

lack of a unifying theoretical framework of development leads Dr Goldthorpe at times to present his material and references in a sequential rather than analytical fashion, grouping for instance certain schools of thought under separate headings, rather than embedding them in more general discussion of social trends or case histories. I found this approach somewhat offputting, and perhaps even students being introduced to the topic might find it confusing.

5) Dr Goldthorpe has some interesting though not necessarily very novel things to say about economic conditions and processes in the Third World. However the sociological implications of economic analysis and its drawbacks are never completely followed through. Although Dr Goldthorpe does outline for instance the limitations of GNP as a measure of development, and outlines some of the 'real indications', which include diet, clothes, housing and sanitation for example, he never completely throws off the economic perspective in his analysis of the social dimension. Admittedly a searching analysis of what has loosely been called 'quality of life' can never be very satisfactory in this setting, but one would have hoped that Dr Goldthorpe would have examined in detail the implications of trying to do so for both economics and sociology. One would have hoped moreover that rather than presenting as a somewhat discrete entity his splendid Chapter 6 on Family and Kinship, Dr Goldthorpe would have interwoven the sociological and anthropological themes raised throughout the rest of his chapters, particularly in relation to kind and speed of change. The taking up and putting down of themes which could have been developed throughout relates too to the Chapter 2 on Technology, Society and Population which deals concisely with trends in population growth, and the crisis of population pressure in the developing world, and which perhaps demonstrates the value of working within a fairly well-defined framework.

6) In Chapter 3 Dr Goldthorpe is less successful on 'the Colonial episode and the race question'. Dr Goldthorpe makes a valid point that not only the inference of what happened in the past but what people perceived happened must be taken into account. He then goes on to give a 'thumb nail sketch' of colonial history from 1500–1960 at breakneck pace! Despite the rich historical background and large number of references the sweep of the argument is less than satisfactory. Not least is Dr Goldthorpe's investigation of what is meant by 'exploitation' specifically in an economic sense, which leads him to the conclusion that 'there seems no warrant whatsoever for the assertion that the prosperity of the present day industrial societies is founded on colonial exploitation, and on the contrary industrial nations have been better off without colonies than with them.' (p 69). However Dr Goldthorpe distinguishes 'quasi exploitation' which results from racialism, and the damaging effects of 'expressive exploitation' which exists in all caste societies whether colonial or not. Some readers may feel that this blurs rather than clarifies the issues, and may argue that where there is a conscious or institutionalised use of expressive exploitation as a weapon of socio-economic exploitation proper, the two are not really distinguishable. As elsewhere in the book one feels that pressure of material does not allow for a long enough discussion of the issues involved. For example, plural societies are dealt with briefly in only one paragraph, when whole books have been written on the subject.

7) Some will argue that the book attempts to do too much, others that it pioneers a broader much needed 'integrated' approach. In his coverage of the rise of towns and the role of urbanisation, in the chapters on Family and Kinship in a changing world, on cultural diversity, on psychological aspects of change, on religion and economic motivation, and on political differences, Dr Goldthorpe makes us think and encourages us to see the interdisciplinary connections. This achievement should not be undervalued. Most of the standard reference works are cited too and anyone coming to the subject for the first time or from a narrow specialist perspective will get a good idea of the scope and depth of the topic.

8) What the sociologist specialist will feel is lacking however is a thorough going examination of the role of cultural variations in socio-economic change, and in relation to social values and institutions. In Chapter 7 Dr Goldthorpe underlines the limitations of the traditional economic analysis as developed in the advanced industrial nations in application to the Third World but does not always use the criticisms of economists in analysis of his own material. The nub of it all seems to be expressed by Dr Goldthorpe himself as the 'uneasy relationship' which development economists have with sociologists. He states 'to put it bluntly sociologists and social anthropologists have an innate objection to the treatment of major social institutions as merely obstacles to development' (p 161), since 'they embody values which the people regard as *ends* in themselves'. This is surely the sociology of the developing situation, and not merely a gloss on the economic analysis and it is a pity this is not developed throughout.

9) What the book does provide is a very rich and rather unique collection of development data and ideas, which will provide food for thought and argument for generalists and specialists alike. Although one may criticise Dr Goldthorpe for setting his aims too high, and for failing fully to achieve them, one has to admit that there are few scholars with field-work as well as theoretical knowledge who could embark on such a project.

JOAN CHAPMAN

Education and Politics in Africa—The Tanzanian Case, DAVID R. MORRISON. *C. Hurst and Company, London* 1976, pp 352 (price not shown).

This is one of the latest books in a very interesting series on Africa published by Hurst and Company. From them last year we had *African Politics in South Africa* 1964–74 by D. A. Kotsé, *Presidentialism in Commonwealth Africa* by B. O. Nwabueze, and *The Southern Sudan: From Conflict to Peace* by M. O. Beshir. This year Morrison's book is accompanied by *Politics, Religion and Education in the Southern Sudan* 1899–1955 by L. Passmore and N. Sanderson, *Towards a United Africa: The Second Decade of OAU* by Z. Cervenka, and *Forgotten Mandate: A British District Officer in Tanganyika* by E. K. Lumley.

Morrison's book on Tanzania is a most impressive one. Taking as its theme 'educational decision-making within the context of general political change', it examines in very great detail what happened to the educational system of Tanzania in the

immediate pre-independence and post-independence periods. Following a brisk and perceptive introduction the book devotes two chapters to Education and Colonial Society and the Impact of Nationalism. It then goes on in seven chapters and in over 150 pages minutely to describe and analyse the educational problems that faced the new government during its first five years of office and it attempts to solve them. The book concludes with two balanced, down-to-earth chapters, one on Education for Self-Reliance and one on a Theoretical Overview.

The Appendices are excellent and confirm the extent and depth of the author's investigations. Thus Appendix 1 'A Note on Survey Data' reveals that he interviewed, amongst others, all the professional officers at Ministry headquarters below the rank of Section Head, all 17 Regional Education Officers, all 5 Education Secretaries General, 23 District Education Officers, 11 Primary School Inspectors, and 14 Education Secretaries. In addition the staffs of 12 secondary schools and 41 primary schools, 207 respondents in all, were sampled. These investigations in the field have been backed by solid scholarship. The Select Bibliography of 14 pages is the best of its kind I have seen, particularly its section on unpublished material. The author has had access not only to headquarters files but to those in the three Regional Offices on which he concentrated, Dar es Salaam, Iringa and Moshi. These he has used to good advantage along with almost a score of unpublished theses and occasional papers. The extensive Notes at the end of each chapter are a gold-mine in themselves, in that they not only give exact references for the author's statements but further discuss in even greater and almost bewildering detail points already made by him in the preceding chapters. For example the Notes for Chapter 6 run to over 8 pages of 76 items, three of which take up 3 pages.

Confronted by such tremendous labour to discover and record the facts, the reviewer must guard against the danger of carping. But this reviewer was an active participant in many of the events and meetings that are described and is thus in the rather unfair position of being able to correct from personal experience certain points, although they are very minor ones. While doing so the reviewer must also guard against his own subjectivity. Participation does not guarantee the truth and in this case it is a tribute to the author that his book has added valuable fresh insights to memories of involvement.

In general, the book errs in tending to foreshorten the developments in a very complex situation. In consequence many of the problems described as being new, just because they were new to the independent government, had been well-known for many years previously. For example Governor Cameron (p 62) was not exceptional amongst colonial administrators in appreciating the role of education in training people to manage their own affairs. The responsibilities of the local education authorities described on p 71 were not new. They were already in existence and were merely formalised and re-worded in the 1961 Education Ordinance. The Teacher Training Advisory Board (p 70) was not an agency outside the Ministry and had been in existence for many years, although admittedly under the title of the African Teachers Examination Board. Much African opinion (p 73) was against the proposed middle school system because the District Schools

already provided a six-year primary course. There was no need, as is implied, to create one. The control of primary school expansion so well described in Chapter 6 had been a very serious problem all through the 1950s, and did not suddenly erupt in the 1960s. On p 96 it should have been emphasised that the voluntary agencies had been fighting for years against government's unwillingness to establish a Unified Teaching Service. At the time of independence government did not primarily establish it to gain greater control but in response to great pressure over a long period of time. The system of secondary school fee remission (p 184) had been a racket for decades. The 'Crisis' of 1966 (p 200) was due to the fact that African administrators, poachers turned gamekeepers, were meeting it for the first time. The examination crisis had been there for years.

There is another kind of foreshortening. It is a pity that the mass of field evidence collected by the author goes up to 1966 only. Much that has happened since would have modified some of the views he has expressed.

There are one or two misprints. For example: At the top of p 51 part of the third sentence has been omitted; the entry in the Malangali Station Book shown on p 68 was surely by Whybrow not Whyland; Chief Mhaiki's first name is Ivo, not Ivor. And one or two errors of fact. At the end of 1963 (p 105) there were *two* expatriate ACEOs, not one – the Chief Inspector *and* this reviewer; the real reason for including Pare District in the Kilimanjaro Region (p 157) was to give primary school leavers from Kilimanjaro District easier access to Same Secondary School. Iringa District (p 191) is not a largely Christian district. The greater number of its inhabitants, the Hehe, are Muslims.

For all that, the book has been a joy to read and it is recommended without hesitation not only to all educational researchers who are interested in East Africa but to those of other disciplines and wider interests who wish to read a patient, well-documented, penetrating and realistic account of a developing country in the first throes of post-independent educational decision-making. There are lessons in what happened for us all.

JOHN CAMERON

Economic Integration: The East African Experience, ARTHUR HAZLEWOOD; *Heinemann, London, Nairobi, Lusaka, Ibadan,* 1975; pp xii, 180; £5.00 (cased), £2.80 (paper).

Arthur Hazlewood (now with the Commonwealth Secretariat) is supremely well-qualified to write this book. Over the past 15 years, he has been closely associated in active work with various branches of the East African Community and its predecessor, as well as with the Kenya Government and the East African Universities. The book shows all the signs of his detailed knowledge and familiarity with the subject. As for a history of East African co-operation and integration, and a thoughtful analysis of its cost and benefits and likely future, this book is indispensable and could not be bettered. All the comments in this review should be placed within this context. The chapters on the history of East African integration,

both before and after the 1967 treaty (the Kjeld Philip Mission), form the bulk of the book (Chapters 3–9). It is on the earlier part of the book dealing with the benefits and problems of economic interpretation in general, and the concluding part dealing with the future, that it seems possible to argue with the author.

On his general position, the introductory chapter is lucid and helpful, particularly the distinction between *laissez-faire* integration and planned integration. One must fully agree that in the East African circumstances only planned integration has any chance of working and perhaps surviving the present difficulties. But it seems a pity that the author neglects some of the relevant literature, eg recent UNCTAD publications, which would have helped him and the reader to compare East African integration with other experiences of regional integration, such as the Central American Common Market. This could have thrown interesting new light on some of the matters he discusses – may one hope for a future contribution in this direction from his pen? One may also feel that he neglects the potential benefits of integration through a common position towards foreign investors, as well as the planned use of the East African Community research institutions as a factor in planning the distribution of the benefits of integration. While one must agree with what he says (p 19) on aid tying as a potential threat to integration, one also may well feel that he has underrated the possibilities of aid – even tied aid – to individual member countries helping with integration, by a deliberate use of the fungibility factor involved in all aid.

As to the future, one must be sceptical about the possibility of an enlargement of the Community – perhaps even more so than the author – but one must agree with him that of the four candidates for enlargement (Ethiopia, Somalia, Burundi and Zambia) only Zambia would in fact seriously add to the benefits of the integration. Considering that discussions of an enlargement have been going on almost continuously for the past decade without any results, even when the East African Community must have looked a more attractive arrangement than it seems just now, the author's statement (p 164) that an enlargement seems 'not imminent' strikes one as a candidate for the understatement of the year!

On the future of the present unenlarged Community the author seems guardedly optimistic, at least about its survival. He can rightly point out that the Community has survived serious crises before and has displayed remarkable powers of survival, even though many of its provisions are in fact constantly violated or are inoperative. No outside reviewer can reasonably argue on this; only the future will show. This reviewer agrees with the author to the extent that the ideological and political dissensions among the Member States *per se* need not prevent fruitful co-operation.

If this reviewer may add a point relating to his own special interests, it does seem to be a slight gap in the book that the difficulties and troubles of East African integration have not been related to the serious employment and income distribution problems in East Africa. This is perhaps another area waiting for a future contribution. Even if the Community somehow survives its present troubles, the critical year will be 1982 when the treaty must either be confirmed or amended, or

else allowed to lapse. We will all be lucky if we have Arthur Hazlewood around then to analyse the issues in his informed and authoritative way. H. W. SINGER

Planning the Health Sector, OSCAR GISH; *Croom Helm,* 1975; pp 209 incl index; £8.50.

In his introduction to Planning the Health Sector, Oscar Gish quickly declares his interest – 'for almost the whole of my life I have consciously identified with the idea of socialism as one capable of leading to the potential development of more rational and just societies'. The book describes Ministry of Health efforts to implement in the early seventies new directives on health policy from the ruling political party, the socialist Tanganyika African National Union. Oscar Gish's account makes fascinating and instructive reading for all those interested in health matters, especially in developing countries of the Third World.

Oscar Gish emphasizes that 'planning must be done by planners, no less so for health than for other areas'. He is particularly critical of the efficiency of the 'relatively narrow areas of expertise of a professional nature, eg engineers, architects or doctors'. In the case of doctors he argues – 'Because the chief medical officer is seen as a technical man, and health decisions are mostly of a technical nature dependent upon knowledge of things learned at medical school, the "chief" is more often than not left with the power to determine key health development priorities.' To an extent this criticism of *de facto* power exercised by professional civil servants – especially expatriates – would seem to be justified but it is not clear as to how this difficulty may be overcome, especially as the objection to doctors as planners is also held by the author against administrators generally. Although not specifically stated it would appear that planning as a discipline can only be effectively taught to economists as a post-graduate study. This is somewhat unfair to those medically qualified who have spent much time in the fields of community health and health administration. It is difficult to accept that medical school renders its graduates forever unsuitable to make any decision or tendering any advice outside the doctor-patient relationship.

A basic philosophy expounded in the book is to the effect that a more rational and just society may be brought nearer in the developing world by planning an increased spread of any given volume of resources. In the case of health 'it is axiomatic to health care planning in virtually all poor countries that the thinner the spread . . . the greater the return in terms of better health (or at least the lessening of morbidity and mortality). This follows from the relatively widespread distribution of population combined with poor transport.' Few would disagree with this view especially as the author adds the proviso that there must, of course, be a suitable level of 'thinness'. In Tanzania, the absolute level of expenditure for health care is low and the question of its distribution is therefore particularly important. It is undoubtedly true that although the problems resulting from population spread are particularly pressing in Tanzania, similar considerations apply in varying degrees in all countries of any size. This matter is therefore discussed by Oscar Gish in

considerable detail. In particular his account of the relative cost and benefit of national, regional and district hospitals and of health centres and dispensaries provides irrefutable evidence of the need for a reassessment of priorities in health planning.

In addition to his principal themes this book provides valuable guidance on such subjects as the financing and staffing of the health services, the range of facilities offered, the mobile services – a subject in which Oscar Gish is especially interested – the organization and administration of maternal and child health services, the place of voluntary agency and industrial health services and the advantages and disadvantages of external aid.

'Planning the Health Services' deserves a place in the libraries of all concerned with health planning, not least those of medical administrators and clinicians. A study of Oscar Gish's valuable book may well be rewarded by their more favourable mention in future editions. W. J. M. EVANS

From Big Government to Local Government: The Road to Decentralisation, T. J. BARRINGTON; *Institute of Public Administration, Dublin*; pp 238; 1975; £6.00.

T. J. Barrington has been the Director of the Institute of Public Administration in Dublin since it was founded in 1960. He has often written articles for the journal *Administration* about the organisation of government in Ireland, and in this present volume he has collected fifteen of his essays written between 1963 and 1975. They are mainly of interest for those familiar with Irish Government, who know the meaning of Coras Trachtala, Gaeltacht and Bord Failte Eireann, and are aware of the recommendations of the Devlin report on the organization of the public service and the Chubb report on local government.

But the student of public administration, who is not a specialist in Irish affairs, will find this book of interest, since it contains the reflections of a learned and sensible practitioner and theorist about public administration generally. Moreover, those concerned with public administration in developing countries will find particularly illuminating his comments on the appropriate forms of organisation for development, especially at the regional level.

The basic theme of the book is that public administration must adapt itself to meet the needs of the twentieth century. Government now is bigger in size, more complex and more involved in accelerating economic, social and cultural developments than ever in the past. Yet the system of public administration, haphazardly evolved, suffers from some major flaws. It is too centralised, with the result that Irish national administration is remote, rigid and so overburdened with detail that it is distracted from its major responsibilities. Too many specialised state bodies have been established, each with its distinctive territorial boundary. Mr Barrington vividly depicts the drift away from the small, democratic, compendious local

authority to the larger, specialised, nominated or co-opted agency. He calls this fragmented, disorganized and unresponsive complex 'bureaucratic neo-feudalism', and observes wryly that these appointed bodies, often obtaining all their finance from the centre, have more discretion than elected local authorities who are dependent on government grants for only 40 per cent of their income.

His ideal is to allocate functions to their appropriate geographical area. He identifies five levels: national, regional, county, district and community. Functions would be differentiated according to their degree of generality and given to their appropriate level. By a process of filtering the top would be left with only what is nationally important.

The national level would set objectives and standards, review progress and allocate resources. The regional level would identify regional needs, plan and distribute resources, review progress and discharge highly technological services. The county would have most of the technological services, based on engineering and architecture, whilst the district would provide the personal services – where the consumer was directly affected. The community would not execute, but would express views and be a focal point for the many community organisations that have recently sprung up.

Mr Barrington emphasises the need for decentralization so as to release creativity and initiative. He justifies local self-government as the way to humanize services, to ensure that they are relevant for local needs and can adapt quickly to local circumstances, as well as to provide a means of access and control for the citizen. He argues that a major problem for government, if it wants to function effectively, is to win the support of the public. Decentralization to local government he regards as the device to reduce alienation and hostility.

He also emphasizes co-ordination. The boundaries of departmental regional organizations and of the state agencies should be standardised to facilitate the collection of comparable data, reduce fragmentation, and as an essential step in ensuring that the general interest takes precedence over the special agency interests. Regional co-ordinators, like prefects, should be responsible for forging a common approach between the various governmental agencies at the regional level.

His model is however, too schematic and mechanistic. It is doubtful if his concepts can be operationalised. Functions cannot be split as neatly as he suggests. They interpenetrate: planning cannot be disentangled from execution, nor can central, regional and local aspects be clearly identified. People do not live in the compartmentalised entities he prescribes. He observes that effective regionalism requires the development of a regional consciousness to override commitments to special interests, but he does not explain how attitudes and interests are to be altered.

Finally, he does not recognise the consequences of a dictum he quotes: 'Government is a marriage of politics and administration, with politics in the leading position'. The pressures from politics are opposed to orderly structures and processes. Political factors disrupt the tidy schemes of theorizers. G. W. JONES

Book Notes

The Administration of Ghana's Foreign Relations, 1957-1965
MICHAEL DEI-ANANG *University of London, The Athlone Press.*
Bibliography and index; pp 88; £6.00.

The author describes this small book as a personal memoir. He covers the period of Kwame Nkrumah's regime during which he was Permanent Secretary at the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and then Head of the African Affairs Secretariat. Nkrumah had dominated Ghana's external relations and his influence remained very strong after he had appointed a Foreign Minister. Nkrumah was impatient, he wanted 'all his tomorrows today'. His ambition was to see Accra the capital of a Pan-African government. He chafed at Africa's poverty in the midst of the plenty which the continent possessed. He was totally committed to Africa hence the establishment under his own direct control of the African Affairs Secretariat quite separate from the Foreign Ministry. With Padmore's Africa Bureau as a statutory body on its own as well, there was room for friction, arising in part from inevitable overlapping in the functioning of these three agencies, and the morale of the Foreign Service was damaged, particularly when Embassies in Africa reported to the Secretariat *not* to their own Ministry, and neither would be aware of all of Bardin's Bond-like expeditions to assist African freedom fighters.

Michael Dei-Anang writes in pleasing style and he looks back with a balanced perspective to an era in Ghanian and African history when he was a key 'Whitehall' figure, and he is to be warmly commended on the self-discipline which has kept his account of an important decade to so few pages.

This is a book that every Ghanian student should read and it deserves a wide readership among Africanists and students of the era of dawning African Independence. Historians too, will find material well worth noting.

Modern Marriage in Sierra Leone
BARBARA E. HARRELL-BOND
Mouton, The Hague, 1976
Tables, appendices, index; pp 369; Guilders 30.

Dr Harrell-Bond's study results from research she conducted into 'modern marriage' among a group of professional people in Sierra Leone; she also conducted a survey of University students to which she refers.

It was to C19 Sierra Leone that boatloads of Africans came, freed from slave ships and in consequence of Freetown's particular purpose, there developed a close relationship with Britain and a much easier inter-racial harmony than that found at that time in other anglophone dependences on the West Coast, and indeed some Victorian attitudes on morality once adopted lasted longer there than in many parts of Britain. The author now finds a growing desire of women for economic independence (not for spinsterhood) – due in major part to the general infidelity of husbands and their disposal of funds outside the homestead on extraneous distractions and relatives. Among male students she finds a desire to marry girls less well educated than themselves.

Here is a book well written and free of jargon which should prove of great interest to sociologists and anthropologists, and beyond them to those concerned either as administrators or as students, in community and other spheres of social development relating to West Africa – indeed the social problems facing professional people in urban Freetown are relevant to many parts of the Third World.

Action for Children
OLLE NORDBERG, PETER PHILLIPS and GORAN STERKY (Eds)
The Dag Hammarskjold Foundation, Uppsala, 1975
Illustrated, tables, diagrams, bibliography; pp 238; Skr 30 (surface mail), 40 (airmail).
This excellently produced and well illustrated book amounts to a report of a Seminar on the 'Dilemma of Quality, Quantity and Cost in African Child Care' held in Addis Ababa in 1973 with participants, mostly public health Administrators and Paediatricians, from East and Central Africa, oddly described 'resource persons' (who presented papers) and observers, the latter categories including representatives from Sweden, China, UK, USA and Nigeria. 'The purpose of the seminar was to try to elaborate the optimum package programme for Child Care with limited resources'. It was emphasised that the size of African families can only be reduced when the children are likely to survive, and the package recommended is based on medico-social inputs and implementation in human terms.

The book is full of sensible practical and generally acceptable propositions. Unfortunately and quite unnecessarily there are too many glib political overtones and there is too much of the now surely outworn criticism of Western medicine which, to say the least, has achieved a remarkable amount of success in tropical medicine relevant to Africa, throughout this century. There is a silly reference to barefoot doctors in the introduction and the implication of authoritarian Western doctors keeping sick African children waiting in the anteroom! This reviewer knows of at least one Medical Service in a poor African country where Western and Western-trained African doctors spent much time on safari bringing medicine to the people, and where the most serious case of keeping a seriously injured patient waiting was while Scandinavian Missionary doctors would not leave a Church Synod meeting prematurely.

However, the main purpose of this book is beyond reproach, to seek practical ways of improving the methods of caring for African children, particularly the very young. Those concerned with child care in Africa, especially public health administrators and policy makers should read, learn and seek to implement many of the guidelines here provided.

Indo-Fijian Smallfarming
A. G. ANDERSON *Auckland: University Press, London: Oxford University Press.*
Illustrated, tables, index; pp 199; £6.50.
Here is the story of Indo-Fijian farming, covering almost a century since the first indentured Indian labourers finished their contracts with plantation-owners and chose the risky business of peasant agriculture rather than re-engage or return home. It is not without irony that Governor Thurston, the great Protector of the Fijians, should have welcomed migrant labour as a means of protecting 'his' people from the rapid change which impact with Western settlers was causing. He believed that the Indians would go home in due course and that those who remained would, in the main, take up humble urban employment and provide a labour pool for expatriate employers so helping Fijians to continue in their own way of life. In fact the migrants stayed and multiplied (and many farmed well) until they actually outnumbered the Fijians whose population recovery from decimation caused by measles in the 1870s had been very slow.

Dr Anderson concentrates on crops, productivity, patterns of farming and its diversity, land use, farm organisation etc in the varying conditions that Indo-Fijian farmers face. This is a geography book written by a geographer; the focus is on agriculture and there is little said of the very live political issue of Indo-Fijian land-holding and no mention of local government which has remained undeveloped in the rural areas because of the reluctance of Fijians to have a system in which Indo-Fijians are integrated with themselves.

Dr Anderson is, however, to be congratulated on producing a textbook on Indo-Fijian peasant farming. His researches have enabled him to assemble and present much data that students of the Fijian scene would not otherwise find readily available – if at all, and there is material here that should help the policy makers in Suva to determine the future role of small-farming, particularly, as he concludes it is unlikely over the next decade that 'urban industrial employment will expand fast enough to absorb the growth of the labour force, and agriculture must accommodate the consequent pressure'.

Pastoralism in Tropical Africa
THEODORE MONOD (Ed) published for the International African Institute, by *Oxford University Press.*
Maps, diagrams, index; pp 502; £7.50.
The International African Institute organised a seminar on Pastoralism, which was held at Niamey in December 1972. This

admirably produced volume introduced by the Editor contains seventeen studies, nine in French with summaries in English and eight in English each with a summary in French. Professor Monod's introduction is the major contribution and provides an overview of papers which cover such widely varied facets of pastoral peoples as: the consequencies of sedentarization; the conditions and effects of industrialization in pastoral Mauretania; nomadic movements – causes and implications. Tribal groups studied include the Touareg, the Masai, the Karamoja, the Fulani: Mauretania and Niger are each the subject of two papers; Pastoralism as a method of land usage, and as a means of nature conservation is examined. The future of pastoralism as a way of life is discussed.

On the Masai there is no mention of the damage to grazing caused by trampling both by cattle moving to new watering points and by game, nor is there mention of the successful post-independence policies in Tanzania which have controlled grass fires and introduced controlled grazing for the Masai. Greater emphasis might also have been expected on the resilience of the 'herding industry' to drought and famine conditions – the speed with which herds are rebuilt when better conditions return.

Professor Monod is not optimistic about the future of nomadic pastoralism. Quoting Jacobs he points out that 'with the possible exceptions of Mauretania, Niger and Somalia, most African governments have explicit, stated national policies' which are antipathetic to pastoralism because 'it is too primitive for this changing world' or where the official attitude is basically sympathetic, because 'pastoralists are not maximising the natural resources of their areas' – Jacobs, indeed, fears that pastoralists may lose their land to commercial ranching or be moved away to make room for sedentary occupants. The conclusion drawn is that 'an original way of life . . . a very sophisticated ecological adaptation . . . is today at stake', the 'trend is for cultivation to increase at the expense of pastoralism' except 'in the true desert where the alternative is no longer between pastoral nomadism and agriculture but between pastoral nomadism and nothing'.

The Niamey seminar was held before the worst effects of the Sahel drought were felt and this has now caused a much worsening situation for the nomad occupiers of the area, accentuating for African Governments the problem of how best to plan the future of their pastoral peoples.

Pastoral Societies, Stratification and National Integration in Africa
CHARLES FRANTZ *Scandinavian Institute of African Studies.* pp 33.

This is a short and superficial story of a number of cattle-herding pastoral peoples in nine African countries. The author doubts whether the fully pastoral way of life will be able to continue for most cattle-rearing people in Africa today, and the speed of change will doubtless be enhanced by recent grim and widespread drought which have hit the pastoralists almost hardest of all.

The Rural World – Education and Development
LOUIS MALASSIS *Croom Helm, London; Unesco Press, Paris.*
Appendices and index; pp 128; £4.50.

Professor Malassis has developed the themes formulated in 'Learning to Be'* and now postulates the need for the integration of rural and agricultural education, in the non-urbanised Third World, in what he describes as the ruralisation of the overall educational system. This small book is full of admirable sentiments, but, to be honest, there is nothing advocated here that at least some developing country and Western educationalists have not been saying for quite a long time. A few pages of appendices provide formulae which can apparently be used to project the working agricultural population, to determine numbers to be trained annually and to calculate the costs and capital requirements, for the implementation of the author's ideas. One must wonder how far a theory so briefly set out would work in practice in the varying and complex conditions of the Third World.

*(Report of the International Commission on the Development of Education, 1972).

Alcohol in Colonial Africa
LYNN PAN *The Finnish Foundation for Alcohol Studies/The Scandinavian Institute of African Studies.*
Tables, figures, bibliography, maps; pp 121; $US 6.50.

The author who has a pleasing style and writes well, complains of the paucity of reliable information and then proceeds to assert a number of doubtful propositions. Alcohol was not part and parcel of the commerce that tied Europe with Northern, Eastern or Southern Africa. Traders forcing their way in with stocks of liquor

is a silly way to describe the C19 grab for Africa by the Colonial powers.

It is perfectly true that beer made from millet can be a nourishing gruel as much as a drink, but honey beer and fermented palm wine can be devastatingly intoxicating, and no one concerned with the annual round of murders resulting from drunken brawls at harvest time, will view as lightly as the author the social problem of 'native beer'. Men drinking away while their womenfolk till the land and keep house, and children lack adequate school clothing etc, is a matter of considerable importance in many African countries, just as alcoholism is an equally important social problem in most developed countries.

There is a tiresome discussion of 'choices' before the legislator. Colonial governments can be blamed for many things, but surely not for controlling the availability of hard spirits to the people with whose care they were charged; if some expatriates ruined their health with liquor, this was no excuse for facilitating similar African wastage of money and health. The author has clearly read a lot but he does not seem to have had much practical experience at African grass-roots level and his thinking is geared too much to West Africa's 'bad old days' and this gives an overall imbalance to his small book.

Guinea-Bissau. A Study of Political Mobilization
LARS RUDEBECK *Scandinavian Institute of African Studies, Uppsala*, 1974.
Map, appendices; pp 277.

The author, an associate professor of political science at Uppsala, Sweden, shows first how the poorest of the former Portuguese possessions remained one of the least developed countries in Africa, because Portugal, economically weak compared with other colonial powers, was not able (or concerned) to provide more than a minimum of development help to a country which, in any event, lacked mineral resources.

The national liberation movement (PAIGC) which came into being in the late 1950s, following on the violent repression of a strike by dock workers, tied up more and more of Portugal's military and economic resources. This in particular, together with events in Mozambique and Angola, went far towards convincing General Spinola during his six year term as Governor of Guinea that his government's policy of seeking to maintain an African empire was a hopeless cause. He left Africa in 1972 and two years later with Caetano's regime overthrown, he himself succeeded to the Presidency of Portugal (for a short while!), publicly acknowledging the urgent need radically to reform Portuguese Colonial policies.

Lars Rudebeck outlines the efforts made by the revolutionary forces while Portugal still ruled the country, to mobilize the people to work for their liberation. Not many revolutions have come about so justifiably or with so much apparently whole-hearted support.

Film-making in Developing Countries 1; The Uppsala Workshop, 7-18 October 1974
Ed. ANDREAS FUGELSANG
Dag Hammarskjold Foundation 1975.
Appendices and booklist; pp 123; Skr 30 (airmail Skr 40).

With chapter headings such as, 'Sorry, I do not speak Swahili', 'Never give the viewer a chance to escape', and 'Foreigners in Film-making', this lavishly-illustrated book could never be dull. Mr Fugelsang whose expertise in the field was recognised by his appointment to be in charge of the audio-visual presentations organisation for Habitat, '76 (the UN Conference on Human Settlements), reports here on 'The function of film as an educational medium in development work'. His view is that films and TV have a greater potential for involvement of people than any other mass media – not, one would have thought, a contentious statement. One cannot but agree, too, that keeping these media supplied with locally-made material, is not only bound to be expensive, but also, with present methods, ultimately impossible. The import of costly foreign material to fill the yawning gap both uses scarce 'development' funds, and introduces a 'hidden' and sometimes 'harmful' communicator.

Fortunately, new techniques such as video recording are now making it possible to produce programmes at a fairly low cost, allowing the communicator to concentrate more of his attention on what is being communicated, and how. The Workshop believes that only if a 'social film language' in its widest sense, can be developed, can 'mass communication' and, better still – mass participation – meaning in this case, the greatest good of the greatest number, ever be achieved.

The Soviet Union and Black Africa
CHRISTOPHER STEVENS *Macmillan*, 1976.
Tables, appendices, bibliography, index; pp 236; £10.00.

The publication of Christopher Stevens' book is well timed. For the first time in a decade world attention has been focused strongly on Russian actions in Africa South of the Sahara. To concern at the arming of General Amin's Uganda, and of Somalia, has been added the major Russian incursion into Angola utilising the services of a Caribbean satellite. That action might extend to Rhodesia has no doubt been in Dr Kissinger's mind on his first ever and conciliatory African tour. At the same time the ILO's World Conference has drawn attention to the small scale on which Russia and her associates import the products of the Third World. It is, therefore, of considerable current interest to see how Russia sought to obtain a sphere of African interest in the period 1953–72 as described in this book. The author finds no precisely defined rationale to account for the choice of Guinea, Mali, Nigeria and Ghana, on the West Coast; Somalia; Kenya and Tanzania on the East. Not every African ruler saw as Julius Nyerere did that rich socialist countries such as Russia, no less than rich capitalist states were equally involved in what he described as 'a second scramble for Africa' and offered no better aid terms to poor countries in need.

Stevens draws attention to Sino-Russia competition and shows how in some instances (eg in Tanzania), the Chinese have displaced the Russians in importance as donors and politically neutral associates. It is interesting to note that the Russian offer of $45M aid to Kenya was greater than that made to other States and might well have been increased had relations not deteriorated dramatically.

What does seem clear is that the vacuum created by the Portuguese withdrawal from Africa, and the possible political advantages that might accrue therefrom (perhaps with Rhodesia also in mind) have stimulated vigorous Russian action, the chance to adopt the earlier role of political entrepreneur and temporarily to abandon that of an orthodox industrial power, was shrewdly taken and Christopher Stevens one feels sure has not been very surprised.

Canada
BARRY GOUCH *Prentice-Hall, Inc, New Jersey*; The Modern Nations in Historical Perspective series.
Maps, index; pp 182.

This book is one of a series dealing with individual nations or groups of closely-related nations throughout the world, summarising the chief historical trends and influences that have contributed to each country's present-day character, problems and behaviour.

Professor Gough makes the important point that the history of Canada stands central to the history of the British Commonwealth, in that most of the precedents that arose from the transfer of parliamentary government to such countries as Australia and later Ceylon and Nigeria, occurred first in Canada. In the body of his book he deals with the aspects of her history that are unique to the Canadian experience – climate and geography, the relationships between French and English-speaking stock, and Canada's proximity to, and relationship with the United States, and shows how these influences have produced the Canada of today.

By virtue of the common boundary with the United States, Canada cannot escape political, economic and defence involvement with her powerful southern neighbour. For this reason, and because Canada shows so much evidence of wishing to play an important role in world affairs, Professor Gough regards it as inevitable that in future the ties that formerly bound her to Europe – and particularly to Britain – will play a decreasingly important part in her thinking and in her actions.

The Struggle for Equal Opportunities – Strategies for Social Welfare Action

A Report written on behalf of the United Kingdom National Committee of the International Council on Social Welfare for the XVIIIth International Conference on Social Welfare, Puerto Rico, July 1976; *National Council of Social Service*.
Introduction, ii, tables; pp 50.

While this publication, in examining social welfare legislation in the United Kingdom (and finding that it has not resulted in any major advance in the provision of greater equality of opportunity), is primarily concerned to call for a new international economic order for the attainment of social welfare rights throughout the world, it devotes two of its chapters to looking at the effects of decision-making processes at local government level.

Possibly because less than 40 per cent of electors in England and Wales vote in local elections, added to which Councillors tend to be both older than the average age of the electors and to over-represent professional workers, the self-employed, and managers in industry and commerce, there is often

negligible communication between a councillor and most of the people in his ward. Consequently (maybe it would have happened in any case), there has been a dramatic increase in extra-party political activity, and in the number of local and national pressure groups seeking to influence political decisions. Thus, non-elected bodies – sometimes known as populists, can have a decisive influence on the way local issues are dealt with, simply because they are organized. There is both a warning and a lesson for electors in all this – most particularly, those who regard local issues as being not very important.

Slamming the Door. The Administration of Immigration Control
ROBERT MOORE and TINA WALLACE
Martin Robertson.
Foreword, notes, index; pp 126; soft covers £2.25; hard covers £4.50.

The authors of 'Slamming the Door' show how Britain has reacted over the past decade, to the problems of immigration by way of legislation which has been the subject of much controversy. They are very critical of British procedures, eg allegedly insisting on documents being produced where no documents could possibly exist, and thereby helping to provide a handsome living for forgers of British papers. Immigration Offices are never popular places. There are a number of overseas countries where immigration control has a bad reputation; on the British side, the problems of rapid decolonisation of a vast Empire has enhanced the difficulties of immigration control immensely and it is doubtful if the authors who are very well versed in the relevant legislation and who show a genuine humanitarian approach, are quite as well versed in the history and the politics which even acts of social justice cannot avoid taking into account.

Nigerian Government Publications 1966-1973
A Bibliography by JANET L. STANLEY
University of Ife Press.
Introduction, index, pp 193; N10.00 (cased) in Nigeria, £8.50/$19.00 (cased) elsewhere.

This compilation of publications of the various bodies and agencies responsible to the federal government, the four regional governments, and the twelve state governments of Nigeria, has an obvious value for students, researchers, and librarians, particularly, as the contents are not limited to those issued by the official government printer.

Challenges and Opportunities for British Foreign Policy
JIM CALLAGHAN *Fabian Tract* 439; pp 16; 30p.

This pamphlet is based on a lecture delivered by Mr Callaghan when he was Foreign Secretary, to a Fabian Society meeting during the Labour Party Conference in 1975, in which he sets out his own thoughts about foreign policy in Britain.

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